























# SAMUEL J. MILLS

*Missionary Pathfinder, Pioneer  
and Promoter*

---

BY

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BOSTON

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TO THE  
MEN OF WILLIAMS  
WHO AT HOME AND ABROAD  
HAVE FOLLOWED IN THE PATH WHERE  
SAMUEL JOHN MILLS  
BLAZED THE WAY



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## THE BOY AND HIS TRAINING

He was fortunate not only in his environment but in his ancestry. He came of Dutch stock and noble blood. Peter Vander Water Meulen (or Mühlen) was born in Holland, 1662. While a student in the University of Leyden he fell under his father's displeasure, and was disinherited on account of his religious views. It was for conscience' sake that he fled to America. When he landed at Boston is not known, but the first record of his name was in 1666. He made his home in Windsor, Connecticut. While he lived there his name was changed by the Colonial Legislature at his own request to Peter Mills. His oldest son Peter (born 1668) married Joanna Porter, the daughter of a wealthy landowner in Windsor. They moved to Bloomfield, Connecticut, where, in addition to the farm, Peter worked at his trade as a tailor. It was this great-grandfather of Samuel J. Mills, Jr., who, when asked how, on his limited income, he sent four sons to Yale and gave to each a profession, answered, "With the help of Almighty God and my wife." One of his sons, John, settled in Kent, Connecticut, as a farmer. This farm remained in possession of the family for more than a century. Here were born to him and his wife, Jane Lewis, five sons and three daughters. The fifth child, Samuel, was born

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in 1743. He has no middle name on the family record, but early added John, the name of an older brother who died in young manhood. He belonged to a family which had a strong tendency to the ministry. Three of his father's brothers were graduates of Yale and ministers. With one of these, Jedediah, pastor at Ripton, David Brainerd studied. Samuel's cousin and his stepfather, Rev. Philemon Robbins, were ministers. His sisters, Sarah and Jane, married ministers, and his younger brother, Edmund, followed him into the pulpit. When a young lady, his sister Jane was visited by Rev. Jeremiah Day and Rev. Peter Starr, both of them on matrimony bent. With the wit characteristic of the family, it is said she preferred daylight to starlight, and married the former.

It was natural, then, that Samuel John Mills, father of the more famous Samuel John Mills, Jr., graduated from Yale in 1764, should enter the Christian ministry. He studied theology with his pastor, Rev. Joel Bardwell, and was ordained the first pastor of the Congregational church in Torrington, Connecticut, in 1769, where he remained until his death, in 1833, in his ninetieth year. He became universally known in his own and in the neighboring parishes as Father Mills. His gigantic frame and manly bearing gave him

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great dignity and a commanding appearance. His greatness of soul and breadth of sympathy were commensurate with his splendid physique. This made him a welcome guest in all the homes of his parish, and in times of trouble and trial the great heart overflowed with all the tenderness of a woman. As a preacher he was peculiarly original. The English language was not copious enough for his expression, and he coined words to satisfy his thought. It was said that "he read less than others, but few did more thinking or to better effect." Contrary to the usual custom of his time, he used many illustrations and drew them from common life with uncommon skill. When he preached about the walk to Emmaus, the road became a New England turnpike with its mile-stones, mullen leaves, and toll-gates. The scene grew intensely vivid. At last the disciples saw it was the Lord Jesus. "What a pity," said the preacher as he concluded, "what a pity they could not have known it before!" He excelled in power of description, and for many years, until his memory failed, he preached extemporaneously. He was noted all over the state as an eloquent and persuasive speaker. As a writer and theologian he was of no mean order, and was chosen as one of the editors of the Connecticut Evangelical

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Magazine, the pioneer religious monthly published in New England.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, who knew Father Mills in her girlhood, when her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, was pastor in Litchfield, has described him in one of her sketches as "Father Morris." "Of all the marvels that astonished my childhood," she says, "there is none I remember to this day with so much interest. . . . He was an ingrained New Englander, and whatever might have been the source of his information, it came out in Yankee form, with the strong provinciality of Yankee dialect." Perhaps the most characteristic thing about him was his humor, of which we find little trace in his son. Many stories illustrating his wit are still current in Torrington. The following are typical: —

One hot, sultry summer day when the sermon, as well as the atmosphere, was heavy, the boys in the gallery were getting restless and their elders sleepy. Father Mills stopped in the middle of his sermon and made this two-edged thrust: "Boys, you must make less noise in the gallery; if you don't you will wake up the fathers below." At another time the boys had stolen his peaches. A few Sundays later he said that in a recent visit to a neighboring town he

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had heard the people complaining that the boys had stolen their peaches. "Of course I expressed my surprise and abhorrence. But they asked me, 'Mr. Mills, don't the boys steal peaches in Torrington?' Dear me, what could I say? I could not tell a lie. I was obliged to confess that they did."

To such a father the son owed his insight, power of initiative, keen originality, and broad tolerance and sympathy. Here is a story that is told of the father which might have been equally true of the son: A colored man came to the back door of the Torrington parsonage on an errand. Father Mills looked at him for a minute and then said: "Why did you come to the back door? When you come to my house, come to the front door, for we shall all go into heaven by one door."

In common with other ministers of Connecticut, the father went as a home missionary into Vermont under the direction of the Missionary Society of his own state, receiving four dollars per week salary and four dollars to supply his pulpit in his absence. Around the fireside he told in his own inimitable way stories of these home missionary tours. The son listened with a boy's eagerness and interest to the narration of these experiences. In hearing them a taste

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for home missionary work was aroused, which broadened and grew on him a few years later.

The mother, Esther Robbins, was the daughter of Samuel Robbins, of Canaan, Connecticut, though the family came originally from Wethersfield. She was slightly built, of delicate features, and with a refined manner that made her the good angel of the household. Upon her fell most of the household care and domestic management. Her husband was generous to a fault, and would give away things that the family really needed. When she gently remonstrated with him by saying, "I don't believe it is best this time," he would answer, "I believe you are right, ma'am." So with his confidence in her judgment and her excellent management, the household was cared for. In the parish she was a ministering spirit, combining marvelous tact with a sweet Christian character. She was a great student of the Bible and lived very close to the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians.

In 1771, two years after his ordination, Samuel J. Mills brought this attractive little woman as a bride to the parsonage at Torrington.

Seven children were born to this pastor and his wife, the four oldest dying in infancy. The others, in order of their birth, were Jeremiah F., Florilla M., and Samuel J. Jeremiah's daughter,

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Julia S., married Rev. S. C. Damon, and did noble work with him when he was a seaman's chaplain in Honolulu.

The hills of Tarringford are a good place upon which to grow up. The view is wide and far-reaching. For ten or twenty miles one can see typical New England hills and valleys. When a young man the scenery had charmed Father Mills, and he brought up his children to enjoy all the beauties of nature. The bracing air, the wide outlook, and the magnificent scenery are a liberal education in themselves, and tend to give men a broad sympathy and lofty thoughts. Here in a country parsonage young Mills spent boyhood and youth. Here he received the usual training in the Christian household of the time. As a child his spiritual nature was sensitive and impressionable, and he might have been trained from childhood into the Christian life. But according to the theory and practice of that day, which knew nothing of the methods of Christian nurture, he must pass through a marvelous, soul-torturing experience. So these religious tendencies and outreachings gradually wore away and he came to his fifteenth year without any decisive results.

In the latter part of August, 1798, a remarkable religious interest began among the young

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people of Torrington. These young people met weekly at the various farmhouses in the parish to sing and pray and talk about their religious life. Soon the attendance increased so that the commodious living rooms of that day would not hold all the young people who came. So the meeting-house was opened to them, and this "event so extraordinary" soon caught the elders with its contagion, and a powerful revival resulted. Of this revival Father Mills wrote an interesting account for the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine.

During the revival Samuel came under conviction, and though in awful distress and agony of spirit, he obtained no relief. What pained him most of all was the apparent discrimination of the divine favor. Others felt not only conviction of sin but the joy of the lifted burden, while he stumbled on in darkness and despair. His brother and sister and one other member of the family living under the same roof with him were all rejoicing in hope and joined his father's church, while he, poor soul, was in "the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." No relief came to him in his agony.

Meantime he left home to take charge of a farm in a neighboring town, which had been left to him by his maternal grandmother. This out-



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door life was of benefit to him physically, though he never possessed a very robust physique. It must have been about this time that one fine winter's morning a sleigh-load of young people, including his brother, sister, cousins, and himself, went on an old-fashioned New England sleigh-ride to his uncle's home in West Hartford. It was a merry party, and Samuel was one of the master spirits. He was ambitious and light-hearted. Afraid lest his good fortune in possessing so fine a farm would give him an undue sense of his importance, his friends resolved to bother him and take him down a peg. In the evening, around the fireplace, they had apples and nuts. Some one proposed a little singing. They started up "Hark from the tombs a doleful sound" to the tune of Bangor. Solemnly they sang, and yet looked mischievously at him. But that song, sung in pure mischief, made an impression on him that he could not shake off.

In the autumn of 1801 he came home preparatory to entering Morris Academy, South Farms, Litchfield. On the morning that he left home his mother had a heart-to-heart talk with her boy, now eighteen years old and grown to manhood. As she asked about his religious life, he was silent for a moment. Then the sup-

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pressed emotion broke forth, and in the midst of his sobs he cried, "Oh, that I had never been born!" "But, my son, you are born, and you cannot throw off your existence nor your everlasting accountability for your conduct," said his mother. She was afraid that he had never thoroughly seen the error of his ways and the evil of his own heart, but he assured her, "I have seen to the very bottom of hell."

The boy started schoolward with a heavy heart. The mother, as many another mother before and since, went to her room and prayed as only a mother can when her heart aches for her boy. As Samuel went on his way he had a new vision of God. He saw him in his beauty and glory as never before. He had been struggling with the doctrine of divine sovereignty and it had been hitherto forbidding. He had conceived of God as having chosen some elect persons to be saved, and he could not find any evidence that he was included among that number. And to his mind, unless by the sovereign grace of God he was chosen as one of the elect, he had not a glimmer of hope. Suddenly the light broke, and he cried, "O glorious sovereignty!" There and then he stopped in the woods by the roadside that he might pray and give himself over entirely to this new manifes-

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tation. The light which had broken upon him was a new view of the mercy of God. He had found a new conception of God's goodness. He saw now that God's sovereignty was not merciless and narrow, but "holy and amiable." "There was a wonderful change either in God or him. Everything was gilded with light and glory; and now and then as he gazed at the splendor and majesty of the divine character, he would still exclaim, 'O glorious sovereignty!'" Such was the experience of his conversion as approvingly recorded a few years later. It is not the place here to comment on it or to discuss the psychology of it; but from beginning to end Mills' religious experience was strenuous.

It was three months before he really expressed hope that he was saved. And he was often troubled in his later life at the imperfect evidences he had of his acceptance. Just before he died he unbosomed himself to his comrade, Ebenezer Burgess, and told him, as he related at length his religious experience, that one of the sore trials of his life was the lack of assurance, and of those inner confident, positive demonstrations of God's favor which some men had and which he greatly desired. He never was quite sure, in spite of his self-sacrificing, humble, devoted life, that he might not be "a castaway."

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At Morris Academy, where later were trained many men of note, — such as Obookiah, John Brown, John Pierpont, and Edward Beecher, — Mills came under the influence of James Morris, a Revolutionary officer and an educated Christian gentleman. He possessed a remarkable personal influence over his pupils, and even made his “commanding object to inculcate the principles of morality and religion.” Undoubtedly his advice and instruction helped the youth in this crucial religious struggle of his life.

Soon after his return from the academy, the next year, when he was nineteen years old, Mills told his father that “he could not conceive of any course in which to pass the rest of his days that would prove so pleasant as to communicate the gospel salvation to the poor heathen.” This was the first intimation that his father had that he was at peace from his spiritual struggles. With the settling of the question of his own personal religious life had been born a desire and determination to carry the glad tidings to benighted peoples. To be a Christian meant to him from the first to be a missionary.

One who knew him intimately in his seminary days says that the “Spirit of the Lord God of Elisha fell upon him while he was in the field at the plow.” Undoubtedly it was in the spring

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of 1802, while working on the farm, that this decision and dedication was made. Would that the field could be located, and that on one of the rough boulders which abound there this inscription might be cut, "THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS"!

One of the chief influences in bringing him to this decision was his mother, between whom and her youngest son Samuel there was a great bond of sympathy. Her beautiful Christian spirit deeply impressed the son. To her he brought his doubts and difficulties, and from her lips he heard of Eliot, Brainerd, and other missionaries. One day, as she spoke in glowing terms of the missionary work, he heard her say of himself: "I have consecrated this child to the service of God as a missionary." When he wrote home his decision to enter the foreign field, the tidings nearly overwhelmed his mother. She took the letter to an intimate friend to find sympathy. Tears streamed down her cheek as she paced the floor in her emotion. "But little did I know," said she, "when I dedicated this child to God what it was going to cost and whereunto it would end!" When she dedicated him to missionary work, she supposed he would go into the new West, either among the Indians or pioneers. Over and over again she sobbed,

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“How little did I know what it was going to cost!”

With the purpose fully formed in his mind to devote himself to foreign missions, he resolved to get the necessary education to preach the gospel. With the full approval of his parents, he put the farm in other hands, and began in earnest his preparation for Williams College. His father was a thorough classical scholar, and probably assisted his son greatly in preparation for college, as well as the other two young men from his parish, — Harvey Loomis and Orange Lyman, who entered college in the class with him.

So in a Connecticut parsonage, in a secluded country parish, had the seed been planted, and already germinated, which was to grow into one of the chief glories of the American churches in the nineteenth century, — the Foreign Missionary Movement.

## II

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*Missionary fervor has always followed in the wake of revivals. The rise of the Jesuits, the birth of the Franciscan order, the work of Wesley, the success of the Salvation Army, each is followed in turn by the organization of immense enterprises for the conversion of the heathen.*

W. J. DAWSON.

*Though you and I are very little beings, we must not rest satisfied till we have made our influence extend to the remotest corner of this ruined world.*

MILLS TO ELIAS CORNELIUS  
(afterwards Secretary of the American Board).

*Luther, and Bacon, and Newton, and Carey, and Samuel F. Mills set fires, and he that does that, does something for the race, even though that which kindled the blaze was but a spark and was lost in the brightness and glow of the succeeding conflagration.*

MARK HOPKINS.

*We may not claim that the foreign missionary spirit in our American churches had its first development here. The proof is ample that it had not. But so far as my own researches have gone, the first PERSONAL CONSECRATIONS to the work of effecting missions among foreign heathen nations were here. Here the Holy Ghost made the first visible separations of men in this country for the foreign work whereto he had called them. The first observable rill of the stream of American missionaries which has gone on swelling until now, issued just on this spot.*

RUFUS ANDERSON.



## II

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**A**T the beginning of the nineteenth century Williamstown, the home of Williams College, though a town of two thousand inhabitants, was an isolated and secluded spot. No post-office was established there until 1789. The weekly mail then came on horseback over the Hoosac Mountain from Greenfield, and later a mail came once a week from Albany. It was not until 1820 that a new mail route was established over the turnpike from Greenfield to Troy, the stage-coaches running twice a week. Besides the president's house, the college property at the time of Mills' advent consisted of two large, plain brick buildings, — West College, built in 1790, largely by the proceeds of a lottery, and East College, built in 1798, at a cost of \$12,400. The recitation-rooms for the underclassmen were in West College, while East College was the exclusive abiding-place of the Seniors and Juniors. The furniture in the recitation-rooms was owned by the various classes

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and sold by them to their successors. It was supposed that private ownership would prevent the students from destroying the property.

Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D.D., was president, and Gamaliel S. Olds was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. These, with two tutors, constituted the teaching force of those days (1806). According to the original law of the college, the curriculum included in the first year the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages (the latter dropped in 1799); in the second year, in addition to the languages, Arithmetic, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Conic Sections, Rhetoric, and Logic; in the third year, Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry; in the fourth year, Metaphysics, History, National Law, Civil Polity, and Theology.

In 1795 the college prepared the first catalogue of the members of a college issued in this country. It contained the names of seventy-seven students. The four classes which graduated just previous to Mills furnished one hundred and fifteen men, who received their degrees, and this was the high-water mark until 1828. There was hazing in those days, for the poet Bryant, who entered Williams in 1810, says that the Sophomores put the Freshmen through a series of

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burlesque ceremonies, and gave them certain mock injunctions as to their behavior. This was called gamutizing the Freshmen. In 1808 the Sophomore class rose in rebellion against their tutor. Recitations were suspended and excitement ran high. The students won, for all their instructors resigned except President Fitch.

Among the influences which brought students to Williams were its secluded location and the high moral character of the surrounding community, which were unfavorable to habits of extravagance or dissipation. Furthermore, the expenditures were less here than at New Haven or Cambridge. The common boarding-houses charged nine shillings (\$1.50) per week, while the better grade exacted ten shillings (\$1.67). The total expenses of Charles F. Sedgwick (1813) for the four years' course, including traveling back and forth, were six hundred dollars. This lessening of expenses had a great deal to do with the popularity of Williams at the time, and undoubtedly influenced Mills' choice of a college, for the largest salary his father ever received was less than three hundred and fifty dollars, payable half in money and half in wheat, rye, corn, and fire-wood. The sum total that the son paid into the treasury of

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the college during his course was eighty-eight dollars and nineteen cents.

There must have been some special reason, in addition to those already suggested, why young Mills went to Williams rather than Yale, the Alma Mater of his father and many of his family. An intimate friend of his father, Rev. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, pastor of the neighboring town of Norfolk, had been appointed a trustee of the new college in the Berkshire hills. Through his influence many of the young men from Litchfield County entered Williams. There can be no doubt that this influence was brought to bear upon Mills and helped him to decide in favor of the Massachusetts college.

Williams College received its charter in 1793. This was not only the year of the French Revolution, but also the year that Carey and his associates were ordained to the great work of modern missions. Each of these two mighty movements had the same battle-cry, "Brotherhood," but the one was disruptive and destructive in its methods, while the other was quiet and constructive. These two forces were destined to meet early in the history of the college. French skepticism and loose ideas in regard to morality were very popular with the young men of the time. Like a flood they swept everything

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serious before them. Infidelity became rampant even to the point of persecution. Ridicule and abuse were heaped upon any student who showed any signs of turning toward Christianity, "though two or three old professors of religion were rarely treated with indignity." Not only in the philosophy of religion but also on the practical side of morals the college suffered. In the first six classes which graduated there were ninety-three men. Among all of these there were only seven professing Christians, and in three of these classes not a single Christian man. Yet this handful of Christians had the courage to hold a weekly prayer-meeting in one of the student's rooms.

With the new century a new era began. Against the immorality and skepticism which had prevailed a few brave men took a heroic and decided stand. Its triumphant progress was checked. It was defeated not so much by public discussion as by private example and personal influence. "It was from Litchfield County that the spirit of the new era crept upon the college," said President Edward D. Griffin. He knew, for he was beginning his ministry in New Hartford in this county when in 1798-9 a great revival swept over that part of the country. Thus was he acquainted with the sources of the movement

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and with many of the young men concerned in it. In several of the churches over a hundred members were received as the result of this revival. Two young men, students in Williams, were converted while at home on a vacation late in 1799, and they did all that they could to stimulate the religious life of the college. In the spring of 1801 four young men fresh from this great revival entered Williams. They were Timothy P. Gillet and James Beach of Torrington, Asahel Gaylord and one other from Norfolk. This was the real turning-point in the religious life of the institution. The religious spirit deepened, until in 1805-6 the college was in the midst of a revival.

In April, 1806, Samuel J. Mills came to Williams, taking up his studies in the middle of the Freshman year. Young Mills lacked the strong physique which gave his father so much dignity. His physical appearance was rather against him. His skin was sallow, his eye not brilliant, his voice not clear, but he kept himself well and was studiously neat in his appearance. He was not prominent as a scholar; his standing was never more than respectable. Not a great linguist, no mathematician, never an eloquent speaker, yet he was always a leader in the college life. He was mature, twenty-three years old, and pos-

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sessed the magnetism of a great enthusiasm. Within a few weeks after the time that he entered, though a Freshman, he had great influence in the college. He threw himself into the religious life of the institution with great zeal.

When Mills entered, the college was feeling the influence of the revival, which had begun in the spring of 1805. At first little impression was made on the unconverted, but the religious life of the Christians was quickened. The leader was a member of the Junior Class, Algernon S. Bailey. So strenuous were his prayers and fervent his piety that he became a terror to the wicked, and they threatened to mob him. The opposition was gradually broken down and the spiritual interest deepened among the non-Christians. By the last term of his first year, Mills' own class was deeply impressed by the revival. No man was more sought after than he by those who were concerned about their personal religious life, and no one was more active in efforts to rouse the indifferent.

The following extracts from his diary reveal something of the man and the intensity of his religious life at this time:—

June 25, 1806. I hope I shall have an opportunity to retire and address the Throne of Grace to-day

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without molestation. Oh, that God would be with me and assist me in the performance of duty! It will be a stupid time indeed, if the Lord does not pour down his spirit and convince me of my unworthiness and dependence. Oh, how unworthy we are at this institution to partake of the crumbs that fall from our Master's table! Blessed be God, he has, as I trust, wrought a good work upon the hearts of some, and is forcing conviction and light upon the minds of others. I hope nothing may retard the progress of this most glorious work.

Thursday, 26. Attended conference this evening, composed principally of the Freshman Class. A very good meeting. Many very solemn. K—— much cast down. It was very evident God was striving with some of his disobedient creatures. The work is the Lord's, and he is abundantly able to carry it on. Arise, O Lord, thou and the ark of thy strength! It seems to me I never longed so much for the Sabbath as I do now. I am afraid the impressions of my classmates will wear off. But all things are possible with God.

Saturday, 28. Think I feel in something of a praying frame this morning. Oh, for more fervor, more engagedness, more activity in the cause of the blessed God! I hope this may be a sweet day to my soul. Think I see something of my unworthiness.

Sabbath morning, 29. Have some view of my dependence upon God and of my awful stupidity. I pray God to be with me to-day, and keep me from





MISSION PARK



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injuring his cause, and preserve me in a praying frame.

At noon. Just returned from meeting, — an uncommon time with me; think I have never been so carried above this world before; never found myself so nigh the foot of the cross. Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove, give me, unworthy me, a spirit of prayer. Oh, humble me, — keep me at the foot of the cross! Grant that I may always feel uneasy when I wander from that delightful place! Grant that I may make it my home there, and never wound my Redeemer in the house of his friends!

“By the influence of the revival in college he was enabled to diffuse his spirit through a choice circle, who raised Williams College to the distinction of being the birthplace of American missions,” says Dr. Griffin. It was the prayer-meetings which formed a marked feature of the revival which offered him his special opportunity. These were continued, and in the summer of 1806 were held in at least two places. On Wednesday afternoons some of the students gathered south of the West College under some willow-trees, while Saturday afternoons they were accustomed to meet in a thick grove of maples in what was known as Sloan’s Meadow, north of the college buildings, nearly half-way to the Hoosac River. One hot, sultry August

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day only five were present, — Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green. Robbins and Green were Sophomores, the others Freshmen.

They went first to the grove, expecting to hold their meeting there as usual. But dark black clouds soon appeared in the west; it began to thunder and lighten. Amid the flashing lightning and rolling thunder these five sought shelter from the on-coming storm under a neighboring haystack. As they sat there the conversation turned on Asia, which some of them had been studying in the regular course in geography. All were interested in the work of the East India Company, which was opening up that closed continent. The moral degradation and darkness of that land was discussed. Here was Mills' opportunity. He proposed sending the gospel to light up the darkness of that heathen land. He grew earnest and enthusiastic as he said, "We can do it if we will." The others all agreed with Mills and were delighted with the idea, except Loomis. He said that the time was not ripe and such a movement was premature. If missionaries were sent, he contended, they would be murdered, and what was needed was a new crusade before the gospel could be sent to the Turks and Arabs. The others replied that God

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was always willing to have his kingdom advanced, and that if the Christian people would only do their part, God could be relied on to accomplish his work. Then Mills, who always had great faith in prayer, said, "Come, let us make it a subject of prayer under the haystack, while the dark clouds are going and the clear sky is coming."

Then one by one these young Elijahs prayed that their heaven-sent vision might become a reality. All prayed except Loomis. Mills was the last to make his petition. By this time he had waxed enthusiastic, and referring to Loomis's objection that the missionaries would be murdered, he prayed, "O God, strike down the arm, with the red artillery of heaven, that shall be raised against a herald of the cross." Then this prayer-meeting, so small yet so significant, so fraught with importance for the heathen and for American Christianity, closed with the singing of a stanza of Isaac Watts' hymn, —

Let all the heathen writers join  
To form one perfect book ;  
Great God, if once compared with thine,  
How mean their writings look !

These prayer-meetings were continued, as long as weather permitted, in the grove between the

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college and the Hoosac River. Foreign missions were constantly remembered in the prayers. Later, as the weather became colder, a good lady gave her kitchen for the meetings. Soon she left the sitting-room door ajar that she might enjoy the meetings herself, and afterwards invited in the neighbors. Besides the five already mentioned, the following usually attended: John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Rufus Pomeroy, Samuel Ware, Edwin Dwight, and Ezra Fisk. Others were present occasionally. It was later on that Luther Rice and Gordon Hall joined the ranks, Hall becoming a Christian early in his Senior year, 1808. After the summer was over and the students went home for a vacation, the religious interest abated somewhat, as will be seen from this entry in Mills' diary: —

November 10 (after vacation). I have been in town two weeks. Professing Christians not so much alive as they generally were last term. Oh, that God would revive us again, — that his saints might rejoice, and that immortal souls might be ransomed from eternal death! Oh, that He would make his children feel their dependence, and bring them to cast themselves at his footstool! All our strength is from the Lord: I hope he will not cast us off forever, but carry on his own work as best pleases him. We are brought very low;

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and if the Lord look not upon us, where is our hope?  
Where can we look but to thy Holy Hill?

However, Mills did not get discouraged, but used every method and means that he could devise to stimulate the interest and energy of the students who had been aroused. Every bit of information in regard to foreign missions was now eagerly devoured. Reports and letters from the London Missionary Society were sent to the Missionary Society of Connecticut. These were published in The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, and in this form reached Williams. It was winter time, and these college boys crowded into Byram Green's home in Williamstown to read and discuss these missionary letters and reports with the same zest and enthusiasm that the students of to-day gather to discuss the prospects of the football eleven or baseball nine. They read and were inspired by Whitefield's sermons. Religion had become a vital thing in college and was finding what it had most of all needed,—an outlet, an expression in work and life for others. Wherever Mills was he was trying to interest his fellows in the project so dear to his heart. As they sat talking in one another's rooms, this became the inevitable subject of conversation. On the campus or in long walks in the woods, wherever

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he found a student to listen, he tried to infuse him with the same zeal. Fifty years afterwards, Abner Phelps, then a Senior, remembered well several such conversations with Mills, who was a Freshman. One warm summer evening in particular, as they sat in East College yard, Mills opened his heart as he talked of the deplorable state of Africa and of the slaves in our own country. As he told of his plans for the future, he glowed with enthusiasm. Phelps says, "His thoughts were new to me, and uttered with so much self-devotion and piety they made a lasting impression on my memory."

Mills became so absorbed in the revival, in the prayer-meetings, and in foreign missions, that he neglected his studies. He was naturally a fair scholar and had an excellent mind, but his pre-occupation with these other things put him down near the foot of his class in scholarship. He expected, and was keenly disappointed that he did not receive a Commencement appointment when he graduated, in 1809. The other men from Tarringford received honors. Loomis delivered an oration on "The Disadvantages of Continuing too long on the Stage," and Orange Lyman on "A False Estimation of Character." As he passed from the room where President Fitch had announced the Commencement parts



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(so tradition runs), Mills was heard to say in a low, plaintive voice, "Well, if God be for me, it makes no matter who is against me."

Mills always had great organizing ability. He not only had ideas, but saw the need of organization to carry those ideas into effect. Something, he saw, must be done to concentrate the energies of these young men who had already consecrated their lives to foreign missions. It was the beginning of his Senior year in college, two years after the memorable meeting under the haystack, that the movement took definite, organized shape.

In the northwest room of the lower story of old East College a "Society of Brethren" was born; the first foreign missionary society in America, organized not for the purpose of sending others, but "to effect, in the persons of its members, a mission to the heathen." The following is a copy of the constitution:—

'Article I. This Society shall be distinguished by the appellation "Brethren."

Article II. The object of this Society shall be to effect in the persons of its members a mission, or missions, to the heathen.

Article III. The government of this Society shall be vested in a President, Vice-President, and Secretary,

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who shall be annually chosen, and shall perform the ordinary duties of their respective offices.

Article IV. The existence of this Society shall be kept secret.

Article V. The utmost care shall be exercised in admitting members. All the information shall be acquired of the character and situation of a candidate which is practicable. No person shall be admitted who is under any engagement of any kind which shall be incompatible with going on a mission to the heathen. No person shall be admitted until he express a firm belief in those distinguishing doctrines commonly denominated evangelical. No person shall be permitted to see this constitution until from personal acquaintance it is fully believed by at least two members that he is a suitable person to be admitted, and that he will sign it, and until he is laid under the following affirmation: — “You solemnly promise to keep inviolably secret the existence of this Society.”

Article VI. Each member shall keep absolutely free from every engagement which, after his prayerful attention and after consultation with the Brethren, shall be deemed incompatible with the object of this Society, and shall hold himself in readiness to go on a mission when and where duty may call.

Article VII. Any member on application shall be released from this Society; and the Society shall have power to dismiss any member, when satisfied that his engagement, or character, or situation render it expedient.

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Article VIII. No alteration shall be made in this constitution without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of the Society.

Mills attempted the first draft of the constitution. The result was not satisfactory, though he had filled a foolscap sheet of paper with rather crude, rambling statements, and he himself committed it to the flames. He had the idea, but could not seem to give it definite form. The working out of details was left to Richards and Fisk, who produced the constitution as it was finally adopted.

To Mills as founder was given the privilege of naming the society. The name first proposed and inserted in the constitution was Sol Oriens (the Rising Sun). This title was dropped as too assuming, and because it was used by some Masonic lodges. Instead of this, Unitas Fratrum was proposed, but they found that had been already taken by the Moravians. Finally Mills suggested it should be simply called "Brethren," and this name was unanimously accepted. The first signers were Samuel J. Mills, Ezra Fisk, James Richards, John Seward, and Luther Rice, whose names have the date 1808 against them.

The first entries in the record of the "Transactions" read as follows:—

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WILLIAMS COLLEGE, Sept. 7, 1808.

The members of the S. O. Society met and signed the constitution.

Chose Mills President, Fisk Vice-President, and Kenney Secretary.

M. KENNEY, *Secretary*.

Nov. 9, 1808. *Resolved*, That we will, every Sabbath morning at sunrise, address the Throne of Grace in behalf of the object of this Society.

E. FISK, *Vice-President*.

May 8, 1809. *Resolved*, To spend Friday, 28th inst., in fasting and prayer in behalf of this Society.

E. FISK, *Vice-President*.

The constitution, the records, and the signatures were all written in cipher, and the whole matter was kept a profound secret. The reasons for secrecy, as stated by Ezra Fisk, twenty years afterward, were the possibility of failure; public opinion, which could see in foreign missionary projects only overheated zeal and fanaticism; and the modesty required of them lest they be thought rashly imprudent. "Besides these, Mills desired to be unseen in all his movements on this subject, which I am well persuaded arose from his unaffected humility, never desirous to distinguish himself, but to induce others to go forward."

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To further their work and arouse interest in foreign missions, the "Brethren" republished missionary sermons delivered by Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin and Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston, and circulated and read them aloud as opportunity offered. They wrote out a list of prominent ministers, like Doctors Worcester, Griffin, Morse, and Dana, whose interest and cooperation they tried to secure. They visited these ministers, spent their college vacations with them, and by public addresses and private conversation among their people developed missionary interest. Mills was always singularly desirous of enlisting men of prominence and power in his projects. In this he was usually successful. Unless the Brethren had secured this cooperation, they would have been set down as harebrained college students, full of rash and ill-digested schemes. Instead of this they went to men like Worcester and Griffin, who could appreciate their plans and purposes and were capable of giving them needed advice. These men became a balance-wheel to the impulsive energy of the students. At the same time they gave to the movement a strength and stability which it otherwise would have lacked. So the young men secured for their cause a fair and favorable hearing in the churches.

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Their plans were to inoculate the students of other colleges with the same missionary zeal and fervor. One of them left Williams, became a student at Middlebury, and started a similar society there. Attempts were made to interest Dartmouth and Union, but they were unsuccessful. Mills made a tentative trip in his Junior year to Yale, and began there an intimate friendship with Asahel Nettleton, afterwards the great evangelist, whom he found deeply interested in missionary work. After his graduation from Williams, in 1809, Mills became a graduate student in theology at Yale for a few months, when this friendship was renewed. The two friends agreed "to avoid all entangling alliances, and to hold themselves in readiness to go to the heathen whenever God in his providence should prepare the way." They agreed further to meet at Andover Seminary, but Nettleton was prevented by a debt contracted in securing his college education. There were remarkable coincidences in the lives of these young men. They were born on the same day, converted at the same age, both early pledged to foreign missionary work, and both prevented from carrying their purpose into effect.

So began in America one of the mightiest movements of the nineteenth century. Not that

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there was no foreign missionary spirit manifested in American churches before this, but here began the first organized foreign missionary society in America. This society was not organized to send others as missionaries, but "to effect, in the persons of its members, a mission to the heathen." It was organized by college students, who, when they formed their little society, could count on little sympathy even from the clergy, faculty, or churches.

"That such a movement should have originated with the undergraduates of a college, at a time . . . when there was so much in the state of the world to excite the youthful imagination and fire ambition and distract the mind, when Europe was quaking under the tread of the man of destiny, and this country was fearfully excited by political divisions, can only be accounted for from the special agency of the Spirit of God." So Mark Hopkins summed up the matter, and none can do it better.

The organization of the Brethren, however, was not the first instance of a great religious movement originating in the personal dedication of a small group of college students. In the sepulchral chapel of the church at Montmartre, August 15, 1534, seven students of the University of Paris were gathered. Among them were

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Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, and Lainez. Faber, the only one who had taken priest's orders, administered the sacrament. Then each took a solemn oath of dedication to the services of the Saviour. Besides the general vow of monasticism, they pledged themselves to go on a mission to Palestine, to convert the infidels, or, failing in that, to undertake any service to which the pope, as vicar of Christ, should appoint them. This Society of Jesus was the outworking of the purpose of the leader, Ignatius Loyola, to convert the Moslems and heathen to the faith, and to counteract the inroads of Protestantism upon the Roman Catholic Church in Europe. There is a strange similarity between the organization of these missionary movements, in spite of the difference between the Roman Catholic and Puritan settings and accessories. Loyola and Mills each had a strange power over other men, even superior to them in ability, fascinated them, and won them to their plans and purposes. There was the same imperialism in their purpose, the same self-sacrifice in their lives. Later in the history of the Brethren the discussion arose as to whether their pledge involved an engagement for life or not. They reasoned that it was "a free dedication to a work the very nature of



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which implies perpetuity. So by the constitution of the Jesuits, *which is an admirable system*, every member is dedicated for life to the interests of the order." So did they acknowledge the similarity between the two societies.

Again, one of the movements which made possible the missionary movement in the nineteenth century was the moral and religious awakening in the English-speaking world which followed the work of Wesley and Whitefield. The beginning of that awakening was the Holy Club, organized at Oxford by John Wesley of Lincoln College, Charles Wesley and Morgan of Christ Church, and Kirkham of Merton; to whom were afterwards added Whitefield and others. The morals of the university were at a low ebb, infidelity prevailed, and religion was formal and lifeless. This little band of students met to read the Greek Testament and classics during the week, and study divinity on Sundays. They fasted twice a week, received the Lord's Supper weekly, and submitted to a rigid system of self-examination, which reminds one of the spiritual exercises of L  yola. They were saved from mere asceticism by active philanthropy. Morgan paid a visit to the jail. As a result of his report, they began systematic instruction of the prisoners. Visiting the sick, reading and

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distributing good books among the poor, and looking after neglected children soon followed. So began in the work of these early Methodists in this student club one of the mightiest religious movements of modern times.

The Brethren joined in holy union these two antecedent student brotherhoods. They united the revival of personal piety in the Holy Club to the personal dedication as messengers of the cross which characterized the Society of Jesus. To all the fire and fervor of the Spaniards and Frenchmen these young Americans joined the sanctified common sense of the Englishmen. Surely this brotherhood organized at Williams is worthy of a name beside the society organized at Montmartre and the club at Oxford.

Yet it was probably from another source that Mills received his idea of a secret society. In the year of the Declaration of Independence, Adam Weishaupt, a university professor in Ingolstadt, Germany, organized a secret society which was called the Illuminati. It was semi-political and semireligious in its purpose; in its workings it was modeled after the Society of Jesus. Its original purpose was to abolish the abuses resulting from priestcraft and aristocracy. It became skeptical and occult in its philosophy and radical in its politics. Through Germany

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and France it spread rapidly, and crossed to America with the French troops. In the United States it drew into its ranks some men of social and political standing. It became fashionable to sneer at the Bible and scoff at religion. The Illuminati ignored the rights of God and proclaimed triumphantly the rights of man. Mills became acquainted with this secret order and its workings, and from a letter of his it seems altogether probable that he caught some ideas from the Illuminati which he adopted in the Brethren. He wrote to Seward: "Among the instructions given to the initiated by the hierophant of the Illuminati is the following: 'Serve, assist, and mutually support each other. Augment our members.' And when our members shall be augmented to a certain degree, when we shall have acquired strength by our union, let us hesitate no longer, but begin to render ourselves formidable to the wicked. If the devil has put an engine into our hands (trusting in God for assistance), let us turn it against him and wield it like skillful engineers." How skillfully they used this engine let the history of the nineteenth century answer.



### III

## ANDOVER SEMINARY — THE BRETHREN

*The calling of the missionary to the heathen is a glorious high calling. He who thinks himself above it, ought not to call himself a follower of Christ. May God give us his Spirit from on high, that we may know what our duty is and be constrained to do it.*

MILLS.

*Some of you have already inquired, deliberated, fasted, and prayed, until by irresistible convictions of duty you have felt yourselves constrained to consecrate your lives to the Redeemer of your souls; and by anticipation you are now rejoicing and blessing God that this grace is given you that you should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. Having made this solemn and momentous decision, in the fear and the strength of the Lord, you are no longer inquiring after facts or truths to convince you what your duty is in regard to the heathen. With the map and the geography of the heathen world before you, your single inquiry is, "What field is most eligible, and what is the best method of establishing a mission in that field?"*

GORDON HALL.

*For what is it to be a Christian? Not merely to bear the name of Christ, but to have his divine message impressed on our souls and manifested in our lives. Jesus had a heart which embraced every human being, with a love which made him willing to suffer poverty and disgrace, anguish and death, for their salvation. And how can his heart be like the heart of Jesus, how can he be a Christian who does not love all mankind with a love which makes him willing to suffer the loss of all temporal things and even to lay down his life if thereby he can promote the salvation of his fellowmen?*

GORDON HALL.

### III

#### ANDOVER SEMINARY — THE BRETHREN

FILLED with a desire to hide a handful of leaven in a large measure of meal, Mills went to Yale soon after his graduation from Williams, in 1809. He was exceedingly anxious that the "divine ferment" should penetrate and permeate the college which seems to have been nearest to him after his own Alma Mater. His apparent purpose, as we have said before, was that of a graduate student in theology; his real reason was to consult and plan with Nettleton, and to arouse missionary interest, if possible, among the other students. His mission seems to have been fruitless, so far as most of the students were concerned, but it was fruitful in his own life and in the history of the Sandwich Islands. Here he met Obookiah, the Hawaiian waif, of whom more will be said in another chapter. Mills kept up a correspondence with the Williams men all the time, stimulating their interest and enlisting new volunteers.

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How successful he was is indicated in a letter, dated New Haven, December 22, 1809, to R. C. Robbins: —

I send you a letter from Bro. Hall. I call him Brother because I deem him one, although he has not signed the constitution [of the Brethren]. I trust he has had some compunctions of conscience that he did not sign the constitution when he had an opportunity. He appears, as far as we can judge, to be ordained and stamped a missionary by the sovereign hand of God, as every one must be who is successful in this work.

Hall received a flattering call to settle as pastor at Woodbury, Connecticut, and had before received an appointment as tutor at Williams. "Then," says Dr. Ebenezer Porter, "the heart of the missionary came out. Then was revealed the secret so long cherished between himself and his beloved brother Mills." "No," said Hall, "I must not settle in any parish in Christendom. Others will be left whose health or pre-engagements require them to stay at home; but I can sleep on the ground, can endure hunger and hardship. God calls me to the heathen; woe to me if I preach not the gospel to the heathen." Later on Gordon Hall entered Andover preparatory to going abroad,



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and largely, as we have seen, through Mills' influence.

Mills must have left Yale soon after this, for it was at Andover that news reached him of his mother's critical illness. At Hartford he was informed that she had passed away. He hoped against hope that it was not true. On the way home he passed the cemetery. There he found a newly made grave in the family plot. It was his mother's. Then he wept as a strong man weeps when the one who has been friend, counselor, mother, and comrade, all in one, is taken away. It was the greatest loss he ever knew. She died December 30, 1809. To a friend who had proffered sympathy Mills wrote, "I wept not that my mother had gone to glory, but that I should see her face no more, no more should hear her warning voice, no more share her prayers. Her dust is precious dust, and shall arise triumphant when the trump of Jesus shall call us to judgment. Upon my arrival home I found the gray locks of my father had been shaken by the blast; still he seems supported from above, and hopes that as his day is so his strength will be. He thanks you, dear sir, and all his dear friends who remembered him in their prayers." In the same letter he had written: "I hope that my bosom will not heave a mur-

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muring sigh because of this chastising stroke. God, as we trust, hath redeemed the soul of our dear parent, and her Saviour, looking down, said, 'Come up hither.' And why should we say to her pure spirit, 'Stay yet, a little longer'? What had we to offer her if she had tarried? Nothing, except that which we all inherit by the fall, — 'stripes, chains, and a dungeon.'"

Grief-stricken though he was, he went back to Andover and to the great work to which this devoted mother had dedicated him.

Andover Seminary at this time was a new institution, and was partially, at least, the outcome of missionary zeal. It is true that the theological controversy of the time was the main reason for the founding of the seminary, but an important factor was the missionary spirit. In December, 1806, Dr. Samuel Spring, who was trying to interest prominent laymen in the proposed seminary, laid his plans before John Norris, a wealthy merchant of Salem, and asked his financial assistance. Mr. Norris hesitated, for he had planned to use his money for missions. He used to say, "The missionary object is the greatest in the world." He had made his money in the East India trade and wished to spend it in helping India. They separated for the night, but in the morning Mr. Norris said

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to Dr. Spring: "My wife tells me that this plan of yours for a theological school and the missionary enterprise are the same thing. We must raise ministers if we would have the men to go as missionaries." Thus realizing that this was but another side of his cherished plan, he drew ten thousand silver dollars from the bank and consecrated them to the cause. So he became one of the Associate Founders of the institution. Andover Seminary became a reality, and opened its doors to students in 1808. Thus another link was forged in the chain which was to bring and bind together the whole world.

When Mills entered the seminary early in 1810, he found a number of his college classmates and members of the Brethren there. Besides his intimate friends, James Richards and Robert C. Robbins, Ansel Nash and Cyrus W. Gray of his class, and Luther Rice (Williams, 1810), were all members at some time or other of the class of 1812 at Andover. In the seminary class of 1810 were sixteen graduates, in 1811 six, and in 1812 eleven, besides nearly as many more who did not graduate. So in the very beginning the institution was well patronized, and gave a fine opportunity to Mills and the rest of the Brethren to propagate the ideas which they had brought with them from Wil-

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liams. Not only had the strongest members of the Brethren moved to Andover, but they also brought with them some time in 1810 the precious constitution and records. These records, so carefully treasured, were kept in cipher until 1818, when they were translated by Pliny Fisk. From the nature of the case they were at first brief and fragmentary. To-day the records are extant in the little black leather-covered book in which they were written by Fisk, in the library of Andover Seminary. In that little volume there is more romance of missions than in any other book written or printed. The last entry at Williams, October 19, 1809, records the admission of Salmon Giddings, the first Protestant pastor at St. Louis. The first item at Andover, September 14, 1810, records the election of Rice, president, Giddings, vice-president, and Fairfield, secretary.

Meantime Richards and Robbins had been talking foreign missions among the other students, and they found some others already interested. Samuel Nott, Jr., a graduate of Union College, while studying theology with his father in Franklin, Connecticut, had been deeply impressed with the idea of becoming a missionary. Adoniram Judson, a graduate of Brown University, a brilliant scholar but not then a Chris-

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tian, entered the seminary in 1808. He was not even a believer in revelation at this time, and could not be enrolled as a regular student. The following year, when he expressed the hope that he was a Christian, his expressions were met with mingled joy and fear. Soon after this he read Buchanan's "Star in the East," which set him thinking seriously about foreign missions, and he definitely committed himself to missionary work in February, 1810, soon after Mills entered the seminary. Samuel Newell, a graduate of Harvard, came to his decision in regard to missions after a serious illness. So in various ways was the leaven working at the same time among some of the very choicest young men of their times and of all time. Judson has well put the matter in a letter written to Rice, July 13, 1830. Speaking of these things he writes: —

I have ever thought that the providence of God was conspicuously manifested in bringing us all together, from different and distant parts. Some of us have been considering the subject of missions for a long time, and some but recently. Some, and indeed the greater part, had thought chiefly of domestic missions, and efforts among the neighboring tribes of Indians, without contemplating abandonment of country and devotement for life. The reading and

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reflection of others had led them in a different way; and when we all met at the same seminary, and came to a mutual understanding on the ground of foreign missions and missions for life, the subject assumed in our minds such an overwhelming importance and awful solemnity, as bound us to one another, and to our purpose more firmly than ever. How evident it is that the Spirit of God had been operating in different places, and upon different individuals, preparing the way for those movements which have since pervaded the American churches, and will continue to increase until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Anointed!

Many words have been written to show that either Judson or Mills was the leader and should have the honor of originating the movement which led to such far-reaching results. The facts and dates given above are agreed to by biographers of both. And as Nott, the last survivor of the group, said in 1851, "It has never seemed to me of any consequence to settle the matter as to who was or who was not the leader of the movement, unless it were to show that no man was; and that it must have been, that like influences of like circumstances, which divine providence and, I trust, divine grace, turned to this account, preparing for a combination above the device of man."

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It was certainly of great significance to the missionary cause that these young graduates of Williams, Harvard, Brown, and Union should be brought together just at this time. If these young men had been obliged to study theology, as the custom had been up to this time, with various pastors scattered about New England, this fellowship and cooperation would have been impossible. Andover Seminary answered a great need in thus furnishing an institution where they could by personal acquaintance stimulate and develop the faith that was in them. It was this association together which enabled them to appeal to the churches later on and secure their cooperation. In the seminary, as at college, Mills used all the time and opportunity at his command to press personally upon individuals the claims of missions. He thoroughly informed himself upon the subject and schooled himself until he could present a most convincing and cumulative argument. So he could be seen constantly arm in arm with one or two fellow students walking and talking. Now giving interesting information, now provoking discussion, and now glowing with warmth, he pressed the matter home with a logic and fervor alike irresistible, and brought his man to a decision and a dedication. If two

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or three were gathered in a room and Mills were present the conversation would be as inevitably and naturally drawn to the subject as the compass needle toward the north. Says one who knew him there, "Never was an ambitious politician seeking the honors and emoluments of his office more unremittingly or more zealously engaged." Fortunately we have preserved to us an outline of the arguments for foreign missions which he used in these conversations, in a letter dated at Andover, March 21, 1811, to John Seward. The statements have been somewhat abridged: —

1. The state of the American churches. The country is at peace and her ships are visiting all portions of the globe for the purpose of trade and commerce. This commerce has made the country rich. The wealth of the American churches is immense. To what better purpose can it be put than in carrying the gospel to the heathen?

2. The establishment of the divinity school at Andover. There is now no excuse for ignorance in regard to the condition of the heathen. If we remain blind it is because we will not see. Further, God is here giving us an unparalleled opportunity to fit ourselves for the work of evangelizing the heathen.

3. The organization of Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies in America. By means of these societies the



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new settlements will be cared for and our own country will not be neglected.

4. The efforts that have been made and are now being made by Christians in other countries. America ought to be stimulated to go and do likewise.

5. The present favorable opportunities for introducing the gospel among the heathen. Both in Asia and Africa the missionaries have found the natives ready and eager for the gospel message. When Van der Kemp arrived in Africa, he found Bushmen at the Cape waiting for some one to go with them into the interior and tell them the story of Jesus and his love for all men.

6. The success that has attended the missions recently established in India and Africa.

7. The disposition generally manifested by Christians to favor the subject.

8. The fulfilment of prophecy which we believe precedes the latter-day glory.

Mills made a great impression upon the students at the seminary. They considered him a remarkable character, "an extraordinary man." This was not read into their opinions in after years when he became famous, for we have a pen picture which his roommate, Timothy Woodbridge, sent to his brother the first year that Mills was at Andover, in which he said: "I had no conception when I first met him of

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his being such a man, as I very soon found him to be, while we were roommates. He has an awkward figure and ungainly manners and an unelastic and croaking sort of voice; but he has a great heart and great designs. His great thoughts in advance of his age are not like the dreams of a man who is in a fool's paradise, but they are judicious and wise."

In spite of his own fervor and the popular favor he met, Mills was singularly modest and humble. He never insisted on the primacy of his position. When Judson came into the society, self-reliant and self-confident, and showed a disposition to lead in the little circle, Mills showed no jealousy whatever. In fact his self-effacement seemed one of the most characteristic things about him.

Neither Robbins nor Richards had broached at Andover the subject of the secret society, and it was not mentioned until Mills came. Then they proceeded with the greatest caution and secrecy in admitting new members. Only after they were thoroughly convinced by the closest investigation were they willing to admit Judson, Newell, and Nott. The meetings were held once a week, usually Tuesday (the noon hour being the favorite time), and always in a student's room for the sake of privacy. The meetings

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were informal, devoted to conversation and prayer, with the consideration of the needs and feasibility of the various mission fields. Members were closely united and spoke of each other in terms of endearment. They were "Brethren" in fact as well as name. To what extent this was carried may be learned from a letter of Mills to one of the Brethren left behind at Williams.

After giving Seward perfect freedom to open his letters to Rice or any of the Brethren, he says: "We can have no separate interest. I trust our bosoms will be always open to the inspection of the Brethren. I should pursue a different line of conduct toward the world, and in their presence I should always appear with my wrapper on, girt close around me with a belt of wampum. I should hope the time, indeed, would come when I should feel more at ease."

When the society was organized at Williams it was at first the united and decided opinion that the missionaries should not marry. At least one member was censured later on for marrying a year before he expected to go, without asking their advice. This interpretation of the constitution throws light on a thoroughly human document, — a postscript to a letter

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which Mills wrote from New Haven. Thus he confides: "I have not found many acquaintances in town among the fair. I know but three or four. These are eminently pious, and have much of that unaffected loveliness and simplicity of manner so truly captivating. Don't be alarmed, B. K., I am not yet caught in an evil net. But in truth our hearts need steeling to give up all hopes of domestic happiness, the one bliss (as says the poet) which has survived the fall. But let us remember what Mr. Horne says, 'That man is not fit for a missionary who sighs for the delights of a lady's lap.' So adieu!"

This explains why Mills never married, and never even allowed himself to consider the matter. He would have gladly yielded to the temptation to take unto himself wife, home, and domestic happiness, if he had not felt that it was his duty to abjure these, and set his face and heart like flint against anything which should stand in the way of his efficiency in the missionary cause.

The Brethren included only those who personally pledged themselves to go as foreign missionaries. Feeling the need for some organization for dissemination of missionary information and inspiration, and this in a public way, they organized at Andover, January 8, 1811, the "Society

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of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions.” The motives which led to its formation are given in the preamble: —

Feeling the importance of a more extensive acquaintance with the subject of missions to enable us to ascertain our duty and prepare us to promote the glory of our Redeemer and the eternal happiness of our fellowmen, we, the undersigned, looking to our heavenly Father for direction, do form ourselves into a society and adopt the following Constitution.

Any student might become a member who had been in the Divinity College three months and was a professor of religion, provided that in the opinion of the prudential committee he gave evidence of piety and attachment to the cause of missions. The object of the society was “to inquire into the state of the heathen; the duty and importance of missionary labors; the best manner of conducting missions, and the most eligible places for their establishment; also to disseminate information relative to these subjects and to excite the attention of Christians to the importance and duty of missions.

The society met on Tuesday evenings, once in three weeks, for papers and discussions on missionary themes. The first subject which came up for discussion was, “What are the

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peculiar signs of the times which call for missionary exertion?" A missionary library was gradually gathered, and the publication of important missionary pamphlets and books was begun, the first being an octavo volume of eighty pages published in Cambridge for the society, — Buchanan's "Memoir Relative to India." The Society of Inquiry was really controlled by the Brethren without exciting any suspicions. The Brethren kept their members in office, as president and corresponding secretary of the Society of Inquiry, and also as chairman and secretary of the society's committee on foreign missions.

The first officers elected were: President, Samuel Nott; Vice-President, Samuel J. Mills; Secretary, R. C. Robbins; Treasurer, James Richards; Prudential Committee, Mills, Rice, and Richards.

The Society of Inquiry is still in existence, and in active and efficient service to-day. The records of the Brethren were continued without a break until 1845; then there is an occasional entry until 1857, while there is no record at all from 1863 until February 17, 1870. The last entry is December 12, 1870. To merely record at all the many names would be to call the honor roll of American foreign missions for the

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first thirty years. But this is not the place for this intensely interesting bit of history which is stranger and more thrilling than fiction. The last entry but one in the records reads:—

Met in secretary's room. After the reading of the constitution and by-laws Mr. Neesima was admitted as a brother. After discussion on various topics of interest the Band closed with prayer.

W. S. HOWLAND, *Secretary*.

From Samuel J. Mills to Joseph Hardy Neesima, what a truly apostolic succession! And yet there was little more than sixty years between those signatures. Into those sixty years had been crowded the greatest expansion of the kingdom of God in any century, save only the first.





#### IV

### THE AMERICAN BOARD — ITS FIRST FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

*Yea, let us go to whatever part of our own continent we will or to the West India islands, our brethren in Asia (as it respects a station for glorifying God and doing good to the souls of men) will look down upon us from an elevation as high above us as the heavens are above the earth.*

MILLS.

*Our seminary stands in immediate relations to the forming of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the year 1810, and so to all that has resulted from that important event. For it was within its own walls and among its own members, that the scheme for foreign missions to be sustained by the churches of this Western world first assumed the visible, tangible form which gave rise to the Board, and to the formal, extensive enlistment in the foreign missionary enterprise of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations. Let us unitedly thank God that it was here the sacred stream of the gospel had its flow from this our favored land into the mighty deserts of the heathen world.*

RUFUS ANDERSON

(At the Semi-centennial of Andover Seminary)

## IV

### THE AMERICAN BOARD—ITS FIRST FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

“**A**ND how shall they preach, except they be sent?” This was the next question which demanded an answer. These young Isaiahs had each cried, in response to God’s call, “Here am I; send me.” Richards said that in case all other means should fail of getting to the heathen in Asia, he was ready to pledge himself that he would work his passage to India and then throw himself, under Providence, on his own resources, that he might preach the gospel to the heathen. There was at this time no real foreign missionary society in America. The New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts missionary societies had confined their work to the newer settlements and the American Indians, although the Massachusetts society had changed its constitution so as to include the “more distant regions of the earth, as circumstances shall invite and the ability of the society shall admit.”

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Whatever had been done for foreign missions had been done through the British societies, — chiefly the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, formed in 1792, and the London Missionary Society, 1795. American Christians desirous of helping the work abroad had, without denominational distinction, sent their contributions to the support of Carey and the mission at Serampore. In 1806 Robert Ralston and others in Philadelphia sent over \$3,350, and in 1807 the gifts from America to this same mission amounted to \$6,000. It was natural, then, that these young men should at first look to England for means to reach the heathen.

Correspondence was opened with Dr. Bogue of Gosport, England, in April, 1810, inquiring whether there was any call for more missionaries in Asia, and whether the London Missionary Society would accept and commission “two or three young unmarried men, having received a liberal education, wishing to serve the Saviour in a heathen land, and indeed susceptible of a passion for missions.”

What Mills thought of such an arrangement may be gathered from a letter which he wrote when he heard that Judson thought of offering himself as a missionary to the London Missionary Society. “What! is England to

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support her own missionaries and ours likewise? O shame! If brother Judson is prepared, I would fain press him forward with the arm of an Hercules, if I had the strength, but I do not like this dependence on another nation, especially when they have already done so much and we nothing. I trust that each of the brethren will stand at their several posts, determined, God helping them, to show themselves MEN. Perhaps the fathers will soon arise and take the business of missions into their own hands. But should they hesitate, let us be prepared to GO FORWARD, — trusting to that God for assistance who hath said, ‘Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.’”

The “fathers” were arising, slowly but certainly. The professors of the seminary, — Griffin, Stuart, and Woods, — were taken into counsel, and together with Dr. Samuel Worcester and Dr. Samuel Spring, held a meeting at Professor Stuart’s house. It was a memorable meeting. The young men were advised to submit their case to the General Association of Massachusetts, which was to meet the next day at Bradford, and which Dr. Spring and Dr. Worcester were to attend as delegates. The association met at Bradford Wednesday, June 27, 1810. On the motion of Dr. Spring, “four young

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gentlemen, from the Divinity College, were introduced and presented the following Paper": —

The undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their Reverend Fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries:

They beg leave to state, that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a Mission to the Heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and they trust a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God in his providence shall open the way. They now offer the following inquiries on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this Association.

Whether with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of Missions as visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or the western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European Society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take previous to actual engagement?

The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexpe-

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rience, look up to their Fathers in the Church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers.

(Signed)

ADONIRAM JUDSON, JR.

SAMUEL NOTT, JR.

SAMUEL J. MILLS.

SAMUEL NEWELL.

The paper is said to have been drawn up by Judson, Mills with characteristic modesty and humility giving way to one who was two years his senior in seminary life. It was planned at first that the names of Richards and Rice should be affixed to the document, but they were left off at the suggestion of Dr. Spring, lest the association be alarmed at the expense involved in sending six men.

The petition was referred to a committee of three, who reported next day in favor of the institution of a "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 'for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures' for promoting the spread of the Gospel in Heathen lands." There were to be nine commissioners, — five from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut, — who were to adopt their own form of organization and make their own rules and regulations. The students were advised to give themselves to "earnest prayer and

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diligent attention to suitable studies and means of information, and putting themselves under the patronage and direction of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, humbly to wait the openings and guidances of Providence in respect to their great and excellent design."

So did the dream and ambition of Mills for an American foreign missionary society take shape. To his faith, foresight, and initiative, more than to that of any other man, was this organization due.<sup>1</sup> Not that he worked out the details of the organization or drew the plans for its machinery. The details of the method and plan were worked out by Drs. Spring and Worcester, but there can be no doubt that he furnished the impulse, impetus, and initiative to the movement, which others helped to materialize.

It seems hard to realize in these days, when the annual meeting of the American Board is an assembly of the thousands, that the first meeting at Farmington, Connecticut, was attended by four ministers and one layman, Governor

<sup>1</sup> In the "First Ten Reports American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," the editor says in regard to this paper presented to the Massachusetts General Association: "The history of the rise and progress of the missionary spirit of which this communication was a result may be seen in the *Life of Samuel J. Mills.*"



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John Treadwell. They adopted a constitution and elected officers. They also issued an address to "the Christian Public," setting forth the great awakening in regard to foreign missions, and the fact that several young men under sacred and deep impressions had devoted themselves to the missionary cause for life, and were ready to go to any part of the unevangelized world. The address concluded with this appeal: "In the present state of the world Christian missions cannot be executed without pecuniary support. Shall this support be wanting? When millions are perishing for lack of knowledge, and the young disciples of the Lord are waiting with ardent desires to carry the gospel to them, shall those millions be left to perish and that ardent desire be disappointed?"

The men were ready, the organization was completed; still one thing was lacking,—the money. For this they were compelled to wait. It was not until January, 1812, eighteen months after the meeting at Bradford, that the Board resolved to ordain its first missionaries. There was then in the treasury only \$1200, but Mrs. Mary Norris, the widow of John Norris, had left a legacy of \$30,000. The original number of the missionaries was four,—Hall, Judson,

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Newell, and Nott. Luther Rice wished to be added to the number. To this, with much faith and small funds, the committee assented. The salary of the married men, Nott, Judson, and Newell, was \$666.66; that of the others, two-thirds as much. It was estimated that the expenses, including passage, outfits, and salaries, would amount to \$5000 for the first year. On February 8, 1812, in the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts, these five young men were ordained missionaries, and sailed shortly after for Calcutta. Mills was present at this ordination. And this is his account of it in a letter to his sister:—

Thursday of this week five of my brethren were ordained missionaries to the heathen at Salem, in Mr. Worcester's church. The assembly was large and solemn. Dr. Griffin made the introductory prayer. Dr. Wood preached the sermon. Dr. Morse made the consecrating prayer. Dr. Spring gave the charge, and Mr. Worcester the right hand of fellowship. A collection of \$220 was made after the exercises. Christians in this country begin to feel upon the subject of missions. They begin to contribute liberally and pray fervently. God be praised! The brethren ordained were Messrs. Nott, Judson, Hall, Newell, and Rice. Precious brethren they were. They need your prayers.



THE ORDINATION OF THE FIRST AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONARIES



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Not one word of jealousy or complaint! Yet the day when he should be ordained a foreign missionary had been as a guiding star to him. Now the advance-guard was sent out, and the first volunteer of them all was left behind. Why was Samuel J. Mills, Jr., not ordained and sent out as a member of this advance-guard? One answer is that with characteristic modesty he had given way to Gordon Hall, who he believed was better fitted than he was himself to have the honor, for as such it was considered. Again, the opinion held by men like Dr. Rufus Anderson (many years secretary of the American Board) is that it was thought that Mills would be more useful to the cause by staying at home to stimulate missionary interest among the churches, and by persuading other men to go as missionaries. This reason gains color from a letter from Hall to Mills (Bombay, June 15, 1815), in which Hall says: "I want to hear all you have done and intend to do, and how many missionaries are likely to be found. It is one maxim of the excellent Moravians never to exhort men to be missionaries. But whence did these good men get this maxim? If it was the last solemn duty which our ascended Lord charged upon ministers, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every

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creature, why not exhort men to perform this duty as well as any other? Is it a duty so small and trifling in its consequences that unlike other duties Christ did not intend men should be exhorted to it?" With all the pressure of the great need that he saw about him, Hall urged Mills to call the young men in the colleges and seminaries to arms, and "to sound the alarm of war, and sound, and sound, until every soldier of Jesus is equipped for the field and eagerly flying to battle." The business of the recruiting officer may not blazon the pages of history, but it wins battles.

These were undoubtedly the reasons, and yet *the* reason was that "the Brethren did not select Mills to go out." It was in the secret meeting of that student society that their decision was made as to who should go, but probably the reason influencing their decision is the one indicated in Hall's letter.

Years afterwards one of the Brethren was asked the question, "Why did not Mills go with the first missionaries?" He replied: "The uncommon tact of Mills in exciting others and setting them to work, and his own convictions that he was not so well qualified to go on a foreign mission or conduct its details, were some of the reasons spoken of at the time. It

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was decided by the Brethren that it was all important for the interest of the cause that he should remain at home. It was the thought that the life of the cause was connected with his instrumentality."

What a sacrifice it was to him he never really told, but we can easily imagine what it meant when largely through his influence that heavenly vision at the haystack had become a reality, and he was a spectator and not an active participant. Professor Ebenezer Burgess, who was with him on the voyage to Africa, in 1818, when he died, says: "He was probably disappointed that he was not approved and sent out as a missionary with his friends Hall and Newell. He once alluded to it, but said that it was the height of his ambition to be the pastor of any little church in the outskirts of our country that he might feed a few sheep and lambs of Christ's life."

It only adds to our admiration of the man who felt that his cherished ambitions, noble as they were, ought to be subordinated to the interests of the kingdom of God. Self was ever put in the background, the kingdom ever in the foreground.

When one realizes how powerful and persistent were his efforts to enlist his friends and fellow students actively and personally in the

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cause to which he would gladly have given the last full measure of his devotion, one can see the wisdom of Mills' being left at home to provide the men and means to keep up the fight at the front. Undoubtedly he did more by arousing enthusiasm and fervor in others than he ever could have done on the foreign field. He was a mighty power, especially among the college and theological students. Let us look at some of his letters to see the methods and arguments which he used to make the young men of his time consider the claims which foreign missions had upon them personally. To John Seward, of the class which followed his at Williams, he wrote, reminding him that as Christian ministers they had dedicated and devoted themselves and all they possessed to the service of Jesus Christ. He quotes Carey: "A Christian minister is a person who in a peculiar sense is not his own. He engages to go where God pleases and to endure what he lays upon him. He virtually bids farewell to friends, pleasures, and comforts, and stands in readiness to endure the greatest sufferings in the work of his Lord and Master." "To this," says Mills, "we both subscribe. But where does our heavenly Father call us to labor? At home or among the heathen? In our own or in a foreign land? This is cer-



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tainly a deeply interesting inquiry. We ought to enter upon the examination of this subject, deeply impressed with the importance of arriving at a correct decision. On our knees, with the Bible open before us and the map of the world in sight, we may begin our inquiries; for God has promised, 'The meek will he guide in judgment.' "

A few years later, when he was informed that there were two students in Andover Seminary who had volunteered for missionary work in the Orient, he said it would have given him great pleasure if the number had been ten, twenty, or thirty. To Gordon Hall he wrote: "I wish we were able to break forth as to numbers like the Irish rebellion, — thirty thousand strong. Not a man could be spared. The whole number would be wanted." To Parsons, a student at Andover, he wrote: "I verily believe that there are at our theological seminaries students of divinity who do not dare lay their Saviour's last commission to his disciples before them and fast and pray over it for a day, with a view to ascertaining their duty to the heathen, lest conviction should fasten upon their minds, with a force not to be resisted, that it is their duty to see that commission carried into effect. I say they *dare* not do it, although the commission

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closes with the promise, 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'" In closing the letter he adds, however: "I would not have it thought from anything I have said that I would urge all the young men who are entering the ministry to go to Asia. But I think that since there are (in 1817) three or four theological schools in this country, we might furnish for the vast heathen world more than one a year. If there are none to go from other theological seminaries, I think the brethren at Andover will consider seriously whether they are not bound to make the means of salvation more proportionate to those who are perishing for lack of vision."

Sorely as men were needed, however, he always discouraged those whom he felt to be but seed sown in stony soil, whose missionary enthusiasm was quickly developed and would as quickly die. In fact, he did all in his power to keep out of the movement those who had not thought deeply on the subject and had not strong convictions, as well as those who were not prepared to "endure all things for the elect's sake." Such, by their momentary enthusiasm and subsequent failure, could only injure the cause.

With Samuel J. Mills foreign missions was a

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mighty passion, born of whole-hearted devotion. For him to live was Christ; to die was gain, if by his death he might win some part of the great perishing multitude to Christ. He lived "in a world that was made by Jesus Christ and redeemed by his blood." Christ's sacrifice, his life, sufferings, and death, were intensely real, and became an irresistible impulse to him to follow in his steps. With such an example no suffering was too hard, no sacrifice too great. Christ's words, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," and "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me," were present and personal to him. And his great faith and confidence came because he literally believed the promise to be for himself, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Because his life was so completely centered in Christ, it reached to the circumference of humanity, "to the remotest corner of this ruined world."

Not only was Mills ever pleading with men in behalf of the heathen world, but he was also more persistent in his pleading with God. To him prayer was power. From the time he prayed so fervently at the haystack to the accompaniment of heaven's artillery, even to the last, he besought God continually in behalf of

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his "wretched brethren" in Asia and Africa. Further, he besought his friends and pleaded with his audiences to lay hold on the great resources of the Almighty and thus ally themselves with God in behalf of the perishing heathen. Let us close this chapter with the words of appeal with which he closed a letter urging them "to let their souls go out to God in fervent supplication that the heathen may be given to Jesus Christ as an inheritance, not forgetting the land of their forefathers' sepulchres,—the dear country that hath proved their cradle from their infancy to the present time. Still let them appear to be bound by a universal love, feeling deeply for their wretched brethren, whether in India or him that may bow down to his wooden god in Hawaii. O for the wisdom which is from above to direct the babes in Christ! O for larger supplies of divine grace and an implicit confidence in the thousand earnest precious promises contained in the blessed Word!"

V

OBOOKIAH — MISSIONARY WORK  
COMES TO MILLS' DOOR

*Oh, what a happy time I have now, while my poor friends and relations at home are perishing with hunger and thirst, wanting of the divine mercy and water out of the wells of salvation! My poor countrymen, who are yet living in the region and shadows of death, without knowledge of the true God, and ignorant of the future world, have no Bible to read, no Sabbath. I often feel for them in the night season concerning the loss of their souls.*

HENRY OBOOKIAH.

*The generous heart of Opukahaia, touched by divine grace, glowed with gratitude to God and his people for the Christian privileges which he was allowed to enjoy, and melted in compassion for his heathen brethren, at his dark home, though their violence had made him an orphan. His ardent, growing desire to use his improved powers in conveying the gospel to his perishing countrymen, gave high promise of his usefulness among them, if, in the providence of God, he should return to his native shore.*

HIRAM BINGHAM.

## V

### OBOOKIAH — MISSIONARY WORK COMES TO MILLS' DOOR

**W**HILE Mills had been planning to send missionaries abroad, the providence of God brought foreign missionary work to his very door. While at Yale, in 1809, he met Henry Obookiah (properly Opukahaia), a native of Hawaii. His parents had been killed in a war, to use his own language, "made after the old king died, to see who would be greatest among them." Henry tried to make his escape with his little brother, but was overtaken, and the baby was put to death with savage cruelty. Henry, now twelve years old, was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, in the house of the man who had killed his parents. With this man the boy remained a year or two, until found by his uncle, a high priest, who took his nephew into his own family, and undertook to train him for the priesthood.

Afterwards, in speaking of the time when he was with his uncle, Obookiah said, "I thought to

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myself that if I should get away and go to some other country, probably I may find some comfort, more than to live here without father or mother." About this time a ship from New York, Captain Britnall, master, came into the harbor of the place where he lived. The boy's mind was made up, with or without his uncle's permission, to go in that ship when it sailed. Finally, a reluctant consent being granted, he shipped as common sailor with Thomas Hopoo, another native, as cabin-boy. They returned by way of China, and reached New Haven in the autumn of 1809. On board the vessel was Russell Hubbard, a son of General Hubbard of New Haven and a student at Yale. He was also, according to Obookiah, "a friend of Christ," and exceedingly kind to the young native, teaching him the rudiments of English out of a spelling-book.

At New Haven Obookiah lived for some time in the family of Captain Britnall. He often wandered around the college buildings, and gazed at the students, who were about his own age (seventeen). The more he saw of them, the more he longed that he too might get an education. Realizing that the doors were closed against him, one day he sat on the threshold of the buildings and wept, "because nobody gave him learning." The good Samaritan who



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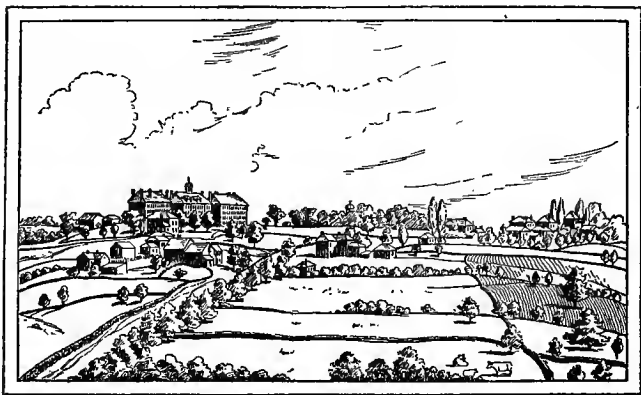
chanced that way was Edwin W. Dwight. He befriended and taught this dusky seeker after truth. Mills met Obookiah in Dwight's room and became deeply interested in the boy, who wanted most of all to learn to read the Bible, and then go back to his own country and "tell the people, who were worshipping wooden idols, to pray to the God up in heaven." The influence this had on Mills is plainly seen in a letter written by him from New Haven, December 20, 1809, to Gordon Hall: —

Obookiah was at this time without a home, without a place to eat or sleep. The poor and almost friendless Hawaiian would sit down disconsolate, and the honest tears flowed freely down his sunburnt face. Since this plan, already related, has been fixed upon, he has appeared cheerful and feels quite at ease. I propose to leave town in two weeks with this native of the South to accompany me to Torrington, where I intend to place him under the care of those whose benevolence is without a bond to check or a limit to confine it. Here I intend he shall stay until next spring, if he is contented, and I trust he will be. Thus, you see, he is likely to be fairly fixed by my side.

Ever after this Obookiah considered Mills' home in Torrington his home. Mills' mother,

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he says, "was a very amiable woman and I was treated by her as her own child. She used me kindly and learned me to say the catechism." He became acquainted not only with the Bible and spelling-book, but with the scythe and hoe. About the last of the year 1810 he went to



ANDOVER SEMINARY AS IT WAS.

Andover with Samuel J. Mills and was instructed by the students in the seminary. His presence did much to stimulate missionary interest among the theological students. While at Andover he learned that one of his countrymen was residing in the neighborhood. He found the other Hawaiian, and spent with him a day and a night, in which there was no sleep

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for either. When he returned he was asked, "Well, Henry, what news from Hawaii?" Quickly he answered, "I did not think of Hawaii, I had so much to say about Jesus Christ."

At the invitation of James Morris, principal, Obookiah spent the winter of 1813-14 in the same academy in which Mills had studied. During this time he made considerable progress in geography, grammar, and arithmetic. He visited in Litchfield young Dwight, who had befriended him in New Haven, and was now studying theology. After taking his friend aside, he pleaded with Dwight earnestly to go back with him and preach the gospel to the Hawaiians. Not receiving as much encouragement as he wished, he thought his friend might fear the consequences of such missionary work. "You 'fraid?" he asked. "You know our Saviour say, 'He that will save his life shall lose it; and he that will lose his life for my sake, same shall save it.'"

By the advice of his friends, Obookiah applied in 1814 to the Litchfield North Consociation to take him under its care. They assented, and a committee was appointed to have charge of him and several other Hawaiians. Rev. Joseph Harvey of Goshen, with whom they resided, on

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behalf of the Consociation petitioned the American Board for a school where these Hawaiian boys could be trained. There were five who had drifted to America and desired a Christian education. Their names, besides Obookiah, were William Tennooe, Thomas Hopoo, John Honoree, and George Tamoree.

The committee appointed by the Board reported favorably, in 1816, on the petition for the establishment of such a school, appointing Governor Treadwell, President Dwight, James Morris, Dr. Chapin, Rev. Messrs. Lyman and Charles Prentice as agents of the Board, with power. The object of this school was, in its constitution, declared to be, "The education, in our country, of heathen youths, in such a manner as, with subsequent professional instruction, will qualify them to become useful missionaries, physicians, surgeons, schoolmasters, or interpreters, and to communicate to the heathen nations such knowledge in agriculture and the arts, as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization."

The school was located in Cornwall, Litchfield County, Connecticut. The people of Cornwall gave an academy building valued at \$1200. A principal's house and dormitory with eighty-five acres of land were purchased, and Rev. Herman

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Daggett was appointed principal. Thus began the first school in the world for what is supposed to be a very modern idea, — the training of natives for the evangelization of their own peoples. The report of the school for September, 1817, gives the names of twelve students, — two were whites, preparing themselves for missionary work, seven were Sandwich Islanders, two were from the East Indies, and one was an American Indian. In September, 1823, the school numbered thirty-six, — three Anglo-Saxons, nine Sandwich Islanders, one Malay, one Maori, three Chinese, one Portuguese, two Greeks, one Jew, and fifteen American Indians of nine different tribes.

But the one whose cries in New Haven had awakened the Christian people to a great need, and so had opened the way to this “Foreign Missionary School,” was not to attain his great ambition, which is thus summed up in his own words:—

Oh, what a wonderful thing it is that the hand of the divine providence has brought me from that heathenish darkness where the light of divine truth never had been! And here I have found the name of the Lord Jesus in the Holy Scriptures, and have read that his blood was shed for many.

Oh, what a happy time I have now, while my poor friends and relations at home are perishing with

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hunger and thirst, wanting of the divine mercy and water out of the wells of salvation! My poor countrymen who are yet living in the region and shadows of death, without knowledge of the true God, and ignorant of the future world, have no Bible to read, no Sabbath. I often feel for them in the night season, concerning the loss of their souls. May the Lord Jesus dwell in my heart, and prepare me to go and spend the remaining part of my life with them! But not my will, O Lord, but Thy will be done!

The will of the Lord was done. The gospel was carried to Hawaii, but Obookiah died February 19, 1818, and lies buried in the old cemetery at Cornwall. Though his cherished ambition had not been attained, he had not lived in vain. He had given to Christian people an object-lesson as to the splendid Christian character possible in the so-called heathen. There had been many who doubted whether it was worth while to try to Christianize the heathen. Many did not believe they had the capacity to understand and appreciate the gospel. By his talents and attainment, as well as his beautiful Christian spirit, Obookiah demonstrated that the people of the Sandwich Islands were worth saving. He became a missionary, not to Hawaii, but to Litchfield County, to Andover, to Amherst, and aroused interest and confidence in the

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work and worth of foreign missions wherever he went. Though he did not live to become an apostle to his native land, the interest which he had awakened in a mission to the islands of the sea did not perish with him.

Hiram Bingham said that while visiting the Foreign Mission School, during a vacation of the Theological Seminary at Andover, he felt a new impulse to offer himself as a pioneer in the work of preaching the gospel in this dark portion of the Pacific. He offered himself to the American Board for that purpose, and was accepted by the Prudential Committee. Meantime the executive committee of the Cornwall school requested Rev. Joseph Harvey to petition the Board to send out missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. The request was granted seven months after Obookiah's death. September 29, 1819, Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston were ordained missionaries at Goshen by the Litchfield North Consociation. Besides these two missionaries and their wives there were four other laymen and their wives included in the missionary party. Thomas Hopoo, John Honoree, and William Tennooe, who had been trained at the Cornwall school, were also attached to the mission as teachers, making in all seventeen persons. They sailed from Boston, October 23,

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in the brig "Thaddeus." When they reached the Sandwich Islands, in April, 1820, they found the way wonderfully and effectually prepared for them. The cry of the Hawaiian waif at the doors of Yale College had been answered. His people were to be taught to pray to God in heaven.

Bingham was not the only one mightily influenced by Obookiah. Leonard Bacon, then a schoolboy in Hartford, had listened to his eloquent pleading for his native land, and had been presented to Obookiah by his own missionary father as one consecrated to the work of Christ. When a Senior at Yale he was present at the farewell meeting of this band of missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, and it was only his strict sense of duty to his widowed mother and her fatherless children that prevented him from joining the mission.

Gordon Hall, after a visit to Mills' home, where he saw Obookiah, speaks of the influence his meeting the Hawaiian had upon him. He says, "I could not but think of the poor heathen; if my heart did not ache for them, it was because it contained neither love for Jesus nor good will to the souls of men."

Mills builded better than he knew when he took that little Hawaiian stranger to his heart



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and his father's home. Wonderfully had the mustard seed of his friendship and fellowship grown and spread out. But if Mills had thus directly and indirectly done much for Obookiah and his native land, Obookiah had done much for him. How much he influenced his benefactor is plainly seen in this letter of Mills to Gordon Hall. After describing Obookiah, his condition and his desires, he asks: —

What does this mean, Brother Hall? Do you understand it? Shall he be sent back, unsupported, to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider these Southern islands as a proper place for establishing a mission? Not that I would give up the heathen tribes to the westward. I trust we shall be able to establish more than one mission in a short time, at least in a few years. I mean that God will enable us to extend our views and labors farther than we have before contemplated. We ought not to look only to the heathen on our own continent; we ought to direct our attention to that place where we may, to human appearance, do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least. We are to look to the climate, established prejudices, the acquirement of language, means of subsistence, etc., etc. All these things, I apprehend, must be considered.

The field is almost boundless, in every part of which there ought to be missionaries. In the language of an eminent writer, but I must say he is of another

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country, "Oh, that we could enter at a thousand gates, that every limb were a tongue, and every tongue a trumpet, to speed the joyful sound!" The man of Macedonia cries, "Come over and help us."

This voice is heard from the North and the South, from the East and the West. Oh, that we might glow with an ardent desire to preach the gospel, altogether irresistible. The spirit of burning hath gone forth. The camp is in motion. The Levites, we trust, are about to bear the vessel, and the great Commander to say, "Go forward." Let us, my dear B., rely with the most impartial confidence on those great, eternal, precious promises contained in the Word of God, Mark x, 29.

Be strong, therefore, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory, and thy majesty, and in thy majesty ride prosperously, because of truth and meekness, and righteousness, for the heathen shall be given to Christ for an inheritance, etc., etc. Let us exclaim with the poet, —

Come, then, and, added to thy many crowns,  
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,  
Thou who alone art worthy. It was thine  
By ancient covenant, e'er Nature's birth ;  
And thou hast made it thine by purchase since,  
And o'erpaid its value with thy blood.

AMEN AND AMEN.

Within a week of his death, when Mills had finished his work for the African Colonization

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Society, and was homeward bound on the Atlantic Ocean, leaning on the taffrail in the evening twilight he said to his comrade, Professor Burgess: "I have now transcribed the brief journal of my visit to the coast of Africa and turned my face toward home. If it please God that I may arrive safely, as I may reasonably hope, I think that I shall take Obookiah and go to the Sandwich Islands, and there I shall end my life."

On his return to the United States, Professor Burgess inquired for Obookiah, and learned that he was dead. By a comparison of dates, he found that he had died some months before his patron, "which intelligence no angel bird had borne to mortal ear. What was his surprise on entering heaven to find Obookiah there ready to congratulate him on his safe arrival."

It seems a far cry from Mills to Booker T. Washington, and yet it takes only three lives to connect them directly. We have already seen how, through his protégé, Obookiah, Mills set in motion the forces which resulted in the mission to the Sandwich Islands. One of the missionaries which the American Board sent to those islands was the father of Samuel C. Armstrong, afterwards student at Williams, leader of colored soldiers and teacher of colored students. It was

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this founder of Hampton Institute that Booker T. Washington called "the rarest, strongest, and most beautiful character that it has ever been my privilege to meet." It was General Armstrong, teacher, friend, and guide, that made Tuskegee and its founder possible.

Home and foreign missions thus act and interact on each other. Mills' sympathy and interest were deeply aroused by the condition of the slaves. He was anxious to find some way in which to help "the poor Africans." Little did he dream that through Obookiah and the Sandwich Islands greater good should come to the slave than in that far-away quest to Africa which was the final effort of his life.

VI

FIRST HOME MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(NEW ORLEANS, 1812-1813)

*He does most to Christianize the world and to hasten the coming of the kingdom who does the most to make thoroughly Christian the United States.*

JOSIAH STRONG.

*The influence of that forward step (the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) was immediately felt upon home missions. From that hour it became a world movement. Its early motto had been, "Save America"; but when its missionary horizon widened to include India, its motto lengthened, and ever since has been, "Save America to save the World." Just this larger motive was needed to lift the enterprise of the home evangelization to its loftiest plane, and nothing probably has ever reacted upon the spirit of the home missionary worker and his work more than this providential broadening of its aim.*

J. B. CLARK.

*I intend, God willing, the little influence I have shall be felt in every state in the Union.*

SAMUEL J. MILLS

(in a letter declining an invitation to settle  
in the Western Reserve).

## VI

### FIRST HOME MISSIONARY JOURNEY

**W**HEN General Jackson landed at Natchez, February 16, 1813, with fifteen hundred Tennessee volunteers, two young graduates of Andover Seminary were with him, — Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn. They were all bound eventually for New Orleans. The story of Old Hickory's mission to that city has often been told, but the story of these young missionaries, heroic, romantic, and patriotic, is but little known.

Their object was not simply to preach the gospel as home missionaries. They were spying out the land, gathering information as to the religious conditions and needs of all this Western country, that they might intelligently appeal to the churches and missionary societies in the East for men and money to carry the Bible and gospel into the vast region called "The West."

A word as to the political and geographical conditions in the region through which their travels took them. Of all the country known

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as the Northwest Territory, Ohio alone had become a state; Indiana and Illinois, still territories, were to be admitted as states in 1816 and 1818. Southeastern Ohio, with Marietta as the center, had been settled largely by revolutionary soldiers from Massachusetts. Another region south of Lake Erie was known as Western Reserve or New Connecticut, because of the preponderance of Connecticut settlers. Kentucky and Tennessee, with their population largely from the South, had been admitted as states. As the highways of commerce and travel were rivers, especially the Ohio and Mississippi, the settlements were largely along these valleys. The Louisiana Purchase had been divided into two parts, all north of thirty-three degrees north latitude being the territory of Missouri; all south, the state of Louisiana.

Heretofore home missionary work had been confined to western New York, Vermont, and parts of Ohio. As early as 1793 the General Association of Connecticut had sent out nine pastors on such missionary work, but it was not until 1798 that the beginnings of regularly organized missionary work came into being. In that year the Missionary Society of Connecticut was formed, and it was followed a



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year later by the Massachusetts Missionary Society. It was by the Connecticut and Massachusetts societies, on the recommendation of Andover Seminary, that Mills and Schermerhorn were commissioned as missionaries.

The certificate, on behalf of the seminary, signed by Leonard Woods and Moses Stuart, reads as follows: "This testifies that Samuel J. Mills has completed a regular course of theological study at this seminary; that he has uniformly maintained an irreproachable moral character; that he is regarded by the officers and students of our seminary as a person of ardent and peculiar piety, and is hereby recommended." This was not so strange a departure for the organizer of foreign missionary forces as it might seem at first. His plans for missions had included the West as well as the East. He had talked with the Brethren of a mission "to our own continent," "to the heathen tribes to the westward." When Mills talked with Gordon Hall, sometimes it was about "cutting a path through the moral wilderness of the West to the Pacific," and sometimes they thought of Africa and South America. His imperial projects for the kingdom of God took in his entire native land, including the Louisiana Purchase, only nine years before trans-

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ferred to the American flag, and practically an unknown country to Protestantism.

On July 3, 1812, this young man of twenty-nine started from his home in Torrington on horseback, determined that whether the constitution followed the flag or not, the Bible should. His route lay through Albany and the Mohawk Valley to the Niagara River. He preached here and there along the way, following the lake shore, thence south to Marietta, where he met Schermerhorn, who had come through Pennsylvania. At Marietta they attended the meeting of the Muskingum Association, and organized the first of many Bible societies instituted on their tour. Writing October 20, Mills described this "infant institution" as having thirteen or fourteen subscribers; the amount subscribed, \$134. The two missionaries went through Ohio by different routes, preaching, distributing copies of the constitution of the Bible Society, and gathering information as to religious conditions. They found New Connecticut by far the most desirable part of the state, "certainly as respects the moral and spiritual habits of the people." They found a great scarcity of Bibles and religious literature south of New Connecticut, the Sabbath greatly profaned, few religious people, and other evidences of spiritual destitution. They

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found in Ohio (outside of New Connecticut) twenty-three Presbyterian and three Congregational ministers. The "New Lights" and Baptists were somewhat numerous, but outside of New Connecticut the Methodists were easily the strongest. Our missionaries seemed to have little regard or appreciation of the work which the Methodist circuit rider and Baptist preachers were doing, especially finding fault with them as ignorant and intensely sectarian. In their report they said: "The inhabitants of the state of Ohio are emigrants from the different states in the Union and cannot be said as yet to have formed a distinct character. Those from New England carried with them the habits and the institutions of their native states. We find them indulging the same independence in thought and action, cherishing the same love of order, civil and religious, and expressing the same anxiety for the improvement of society, by the establishment of schools and the ordinances of the gospel. Those from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, particularly of the Scotch and Irish descent, are very ready to unite in promoting the establishment of schools and in supporting the gospel, whilst those of German extraction, together with emigrants from Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, are too frequently regardless of

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both, and too fondly cherish that high-toned and licentious spirit which will neither suffer contradiction nor opposition and which is equally inconsistent with civil and religious order."

In their trip below Cincinnati they were sometimes on the Kentucky, sometimes on the Indiana, side of the Ohio River. They found the people in a "very destitute state, very ignorant of the doctrines of the Bible." In fact, Indiana Territory, with only one Presbyterian minister and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, seemed to them in an almost desperate condition, while Illinois Territory, with twelve thousand inhabitants, and not a single Congregational or Presbyterian minister, was spoken of as having "a number of good people who are anxious to have such ministers come among them."

Going on through Kentucky, at Lexington they found a new Catholic church, and no less than three "infidel publications." "In this part of the country are many infidels. The morals of the people are loose, and many of the inhabitants are extremely ignorant as well as very vicious. The vices most prevalent are: profanity, gambling, horse-racing, fighting, drunkenness, and violation of the Sabbath." To meet these forces of evil Kentucky had ninety-three Presbyterian ministers with twelve hundred

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members of churches, and one hundred and forty-two Baptist preachers with over twenty-one hundred communicants. The Methodists were not so strong, while the Roman Catholics had six priests and twelve church buildings.

At Nashville they arranged for the formation of the Western Tennessee Bible Society. Here, too, they met General Jackson, for it was the time of the War of 1812. Let Mills tell his own story as he gave it in a letter now yellow, mildewed, and faded, but full of pathetic interest:—

General Jackson, with about fifteen hundred volunteers, was expecting to go in a few days down the river to Natchez. Mr. Blackburn introduced us to the general. When he became acquainted with our design he invited us to take passage on board his boat. We accepted the invitation, after providing some necessary stores for the voyage and making sale of our horses.

They were thirty-six days on their way, being hindered by ice. Mills, whose health was never good, had an attack of bilious fever. But to continue the story about General Jackson:—

Before we left Natchez, we (with Mr. Blackman, the chaplain of the Tennessee Volunteers) obtained a subscription of more than \$100 for the benefit of the Tennessee Bible Society. This subscription was

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made by the officers principally. The prospect was that it would be very considerably increased before they left the vicinity of Natchez. As these volunteers had little prospect of contending with the bayonet and the sword, we endeavored to bring them to act against principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places, and, as you see, sir, not without some success. We were treated with great attention by the general and officers, and were more obliged to them for their subscription made to the Tennessee Society than if it had been made to us.

On his return to Andover, Massachusetts, he wrote out, January 1, 1814, "observations upon the state of the religious information possessed by the inhabitants we passed after we left Nashville until we arrived at Natchez." I should be glad to quote the entire document, not only for the view it gives us of the country, but for the way in which it reflects the author's ideas and ideals. A small part must suffice us:—

There are few settlements of importance upon the Cumberland River,—no village that contains more than three hundred inhabitants. We passed, from Nashville to Natchez, a distance of a thousand miles by water, no settlement that was regularly supplied with a Presbyterian minister. We occasionally passed a Baptist and Methodist preacher, but seldom. The former in many instances do not inculcate upon their

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hearers the importance of observing the Sabbath as holy time. Neither do they enjoin the duty upon parents religiously to educate their children. In sentiment the latter (Methodists) agree with Arminius. The religious sentiments of the inhabitants in the portion of the country now under consideration must be, of course, very incorrect where they make any profession of religion at all. There is, I believe, a very great stupidity generally prevailing in this Western world, as it respects a concern for the salvation of the soul; and a reason, which answers in part for this inattention to religious subjects, is obvious: "the people perish for lack of vision." Not only in a great measure are they destitute of the word preached in its simplicity and purity, but it is a fact much to be lamented that but comparatively few have a Bible in their homes, and many who would be pleased to receive such a treasure know not where to obtain it. . . .

The country from Nashville to Natchez is generally so thinly settled that schools cannot be supported where the inhabitants are desirous of the privilege. But it is often the case that they know not the value of such institutions, even where they have the ability to support them. The education of children is, of course, very much neglected.

The remedy which Mills suggested was the distribution of Bibles and tracts "committed to faithful men who go up and down the Mis-

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Mississippi to New Orleans. These tracts should inculcate the doctrines of the Reformation, and particularly inculcate the duty of a strict observation of the Sabbath as holy time and the religious education of children."

At Natchez, with fifteen hundred inhabitants, many of them Americans, they found no organized church. There was a Roman Catholic church which had been closed for many years, and a Methodist church building open to all comers, "sometimes crowded, generally when the meeting is held in the evening." The Presbyterians were building a substantial brick church of good size, and the prospect of "a regular organized church" seemed good. As the missionaries entered the cotton belt they became peculiarly impressed with the spiritual destitution of the country. "If this view of the destitute state of many of our brethren will not induce those possessed of the ability to contribute for their relief, their case is indeed desperate."

From Natchez to New Orleans, three hundred miles, they secured very indifferent accommodations on a flatboat, with "little to subsist on except fat ham, dry biscuit, butter, and cheese, all of which we would have dispensed with, had we been furnished with water gruel, a little milk,





THE COMPASS WHICH MILLS USED ON HIS  
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and occasionally a bowl of hominy." But the fare on the steamboat was eighteen dollars each, and the flatboat charges for the two were only a little more than six dollars, and home missionaries might not have the comforts of life, but only the necessities. One wonders how Mills, who was never robust, could stand this wear and tear of continual arduous travel and these poor accommodations.

The transfer of the Louisiana Purchase from the tricolor of France to the stars and stripes meant far more than political and governmental changes. It meant injecting into this thoroughly Latin province Anglo-Saxon ideals and institutions. This meant first and foremost religious toleration and liberty. Under Spanish and French rule Protestant churches and worship had been strictly forbidden. Under the new régime Protestantism was more than tolerated. On this and his second home missionary journey, Mills had substantial assistance and encouragement, not only from Governors Posey of Indiana and Edwards of Illinois, but also from Governors Clark of Missouri and Claiborne of Louisiana.

It was a brilliant but superficial Frenchman (Renan) who sarcastically called the Bible and the Sabbath the two sacraments of Protestant-

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ism. At any rate, these were the two great institutions that Protestantism brought to this French province as the fundamentals of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Whether they were needed or not let these young "apostles to the Southwest" bear witness. These are the conditions which they found in New Orleans as described by Mills: —

There is no Protestant church in the city. Attempts have been made to obtain subscriptions for building one, but have failed. There is no difficulty in erecting theatres. One has lately been built at an expense, perhaps, of \$70,000, and \$30,000 more will be required to finish it. . . . The Sabbath is very little observed as a day of sacred rest. On the levee are great numbers of the lower class offering for sale whatever they may have on hand. In the streets you meet wagons and carts going and coming as on the week day. The greater part of the stores are open, and people are buying and selling in all quarters. In houses many are sitting at their cards; many at the billiard-table; many drinking and some drunken, and I am told that Americans join in all of these excesses.

How this Continental Sunday must have shocked the young New England preacher! Schermerhorn said: "The Sabbath to them is high holiday, and on it is committed more actual sin than all the week beside. Dancing,

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gambling, parties of pleasure, theatrical amusements, and dining parties are the common business of the day after mass in the morning."

Something had to be done at once to unite the scattered religious forces. If they could not have a church there was always the Bible Society to promote this end, for the Bible was an almost unknown book. They went to see Father Antonio, the most prominent and influential priest in the diocese, and secured the promise of his aid in the circulation of the Scriptures. The bishop, too, lately come from Baltimore, promised "cheerfully to assist in the promotion of so benevolent a design." "He [the bishop] gave it as his opinion that there were not at this time twelve Bibles in the vicinity of New Orleans. He spoke of this city as being the most desperately wicked place he had ever been in. . . . He had lived in France, and had an opportunity of ascertaining the state of morals and religion in the cities of that kingdom, but this place, in the opinion of the bishop, took the lead in almost every species of wickedness." Mills' comment is not astonishing that "This disposition in the Catholic priests to favor the circulation of the Scriptures has very much surprised all with whom we have conversed on the subject in the city." Mills had a happy faculty of

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not antagonizing those from whom he differed. He would find some common standing-ground if possible. Thus he secured the friendship and cooperation even of Roman Catholics.

The call for the organization of the Bible Society was signed by Governor Claiborne and twelve members of the Legislature, and the new force for righteousness started auspiciously with Gen. Benjamin Morgan as president. Father Antonio was named as one of the managers, but declined. While they were in the city, Schermerhorn and Mills held frequent meetings and preaching services, the latter at the State House. The largest attendance was two hundred. "It was said by those who have lived in the city for a considerable time that they never saw as full a meeting before."

New Orleans at this time had something over twenty-five thousand inhabitants, about one-half of whom were negroes. Of the white population, one-half was French; the rest, with a fair sprinkling of Americans, was as motley and mixed a multitude as one could find in any city of that day. The religious forces of the city at the time of Mills' visit were, besides the bishop, four or five Catholic priests, one Baptist preacher, and one Methodist. The Baptist left with them and the Methodist was soon to follow, leaving

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this great city with no Protestant ministrations. Philander Chase, afterwards bishop of Ohio and Illinois, and founder of Kenyon College and Gambier Divinity School, conducted Protestant Episcopal services in the city from 1805 to 1811, but according to Mills, there was no regular Episcopal church. In fact, in the whole state of Louisiana, with 76,556 free people, of whom from one-fourth to one-sixth were Americans, besides 34,660 slaves, there was but one Protestant church, — a small one of Baptists about to be organized at Oppelousas. The Methodist circuit rider had been, however, up the Red and Washita rivers.

After about three weeks' stay Mills and Schermerhorn set out, April 6, on their return through Mississippi for Georgia. It was a memorable journey, part of the way through a veritable wilderness, swamps that could hardly be waded, and cane-brakes which could only be penetrated by cutting their way through with a hatchet. A few brief notices from Mills' journal are suggestive of their adventures: —

May 1. To-day we crossed another creek and ate the last of our bread.

Monday, May 3. It rained very hard. Our tent cloth so wet that it afforded us a poor shelter from the storm. Our provisions very low, and we allow

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ourselves to eat but half a meal. In the evening heard an Indian whoop, which made us believe we were near the habitations of some of these rude sons of nature. Dried our blankets, and rested tolerably well.

Friday, May 7. Kept down the Creek, passed some old Indian fields, concluded we could not be far from the place where we struck the river on the opposite bank, but the canebrake and green briar could not be penetrated. Took the margin of the lowlands, and at night encamped on a high hill. This night we ate the very little meat we had left.

Saturday, 8. Early on our way. Saw the tracks of horses, cattle, etc. Convinced there were Indians not far off. Before noon we came to a trace (trail) which had the appearance of leading to the river. After riding several miles, we came to the river opposite the place where we just discovered it. There we found eight or ten Indian men and Indian women, who were about crossing the river on a raft. We inquired of them how far it was to a house, but could obtain no certain information, as they could not or would not speak the English language. We were satisfied we were on our trail, and, leaving the river, pursued our course easterly. We had not gone more than a mile or two before we met an old Indian who could talk a little English. He informed us that, proceeding on the trail one mile, we should come to an Indian house, where we should be able to procure provision. We soon arrived at the place, and found



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the Indian, a Cherokee, a very pleasant, friendly man. I expect he had been making some provision for his Indian brethren, for as soon as we entered the house he invited us to sit down at the table. Before we left him we provided ourselves with meat and bread and corn flour. In the afternoon, went on our way, rode till near sunset, and encamped. The wolves were around our camp in the night.

Among other things, Mills and Schermerhorn had been commissioned by the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America" to make exhaustive inquiries in regard to the Indian tribes residing west of the Alleghany Mountains. Heretofore the labors of this society had been largely among the Indian tribes in New England, but they felt that at no distant time these tribes would become extinct, and that it would be expedient to extend their missionary labors among the Indians farther west. Hence they desired detailed information as to the condition of those tribes.

Mills and Schermerhorn were to inquire as to the numbers, location, and history of each tribe. They were to report on the form of government among the Indians and their relation to the government of the United States. Particular information was desired in regard to the educational and religious advantages, and also as

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to the feeling of the Indians themselves in regard to the establishment of churches among them.

The missionaries were painstaking in their investigations, and their report shows them keen as well as careful observers. Statistics and facts are massed in such a way as to be both informing and convincing. In the country north of the Ohio River they were unable to obtain much satisfactory information because the Indians were at war with the United States, but elsewhere these young men fulfilled their mission with credit to themselves and to the satisfaction of the society.

The manuscript of this report is in the possession of the Society of Inquiry at Andover Seminary. It was published in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections (Second Series, Vol. II, pp. 1-48) as a most satisfactory statement of conditions among the Indians of the Middle West. An extract from this is given below, as a specimen of the work which they did.

Of the tribes in the United States proper the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws appear the most favorable for the establishment of a mission with the prospect of success. To the Cherokees the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church have turned

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their attention, and are looking for missionaries of a proper character to send among them. This tribe, therefore, we will leave out of consideration and take a view of the others, — Chickasaws and Choctaws. These two tribes are more numerous than the aggregate of all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes, and also speak the same language.

From these circumstances solely, other things being equal, a mission here would be more desirable and have greater prospect of success than among either of the small tribes in Indiana or Illinois. There are other reasons which induce us to give these nations the preference. They have already made great progress in agriculture and civilization, and are by degrees casting off the Indian habits and adopting the modes of whites. They are gradually moving out of their villages, giving up the hunting life, clearing small plantations, and raising domestic animals. They have already experienced many of the blessings which flow from their change of habits, and are anxious to make further improvement, — and many of them feel that this is the only way left to save themselves from extermination and ruin. It is not to be expected that they are anxious to have preaching, for of this they little know the advantages, though Mr. Bullin informed me that many of the Chickasaws gave earnest attention, and appeared much affected under preaching. It is, however, more than probable that they are anxious to have their children educated, and it will perhaps hereafter appear that the most effectual way to introduce Christianity

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among the Indians is to train and instruct the rising generation in the way they should go. From the application of the Chickasaw chief to Mr. Blackburn, and the fact that they support a school at their own expense, and from what the agent of the Choctaws observes, it appears evident that schools at least might be established among them.

Another thing very worthy of mention is that the agents of these tribes are men of reputable character, regular habits, and if I have been correctly informed, professors of religion, and would doubtless encourage at least the attempt of planting a mission among them.

For the reasons that have been given a mission among these tribes promises more success than one among Creeks, for the language is different in different villages, and, above all, their agent is hostile to missions. The same reasons induce me also to fix on these tribes in preference to any in Louisiana. It would be highly desirable in a missionary view to find a tribe uncontaminated by the vices of the whites, and where the iniquitous trader by his treachery has never learnt the Indian to deceive or by his persuasion to get drunk.

After more than six weeks of Creeks and cane-brakes, "rude sons of nature" and ruder nature, they reached Athens, Georgia. Apparently this was the first place for mailing a letter since they had left New Orleans, for Mills' letter,

## FIRST HOME MISSIONARY JOURNEY

dated New Orleans, April 13, was posted here. He admits in a postscript, dated May 20, that it has been "a long, fatiguing journey" from New Orleans. He had written "tiresome," but crossed it out, for no danger or difficulty was tiresome to Samuel J. Mills if thereby he could glorify God or bring his fellow men near to their Father. A Charleston newspaper, dated June 3, announced the arrival "on Tuesday last, in this city, of Mr. Samuel J. Mills, missionary from New England." From this we learn, not from Mills' letters, that he was obliged to make this circuit of three hundred miles through the wilderness on account of conditions near the coast occasioned by the war. Here, too, we get a glimpse of the "numerous dangers and severe privations" which he had suffered, but from himself only the word indicated above. He could not only "endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ," but he could also do it without groaning or glorying.

Some of these severe privations were the result of sacrifice and self-denial on Mills' part, that he might not spend a dollar more of the missionary societies' money than was absolutely necessary. How economical he was can be seen from the account of his stewardship rendered in his financial statement to the Missionary Society

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of Connecticut. He received \$150 from the Connecticut Missionary Society, \$21 from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and collected \$145 on the tour. He paid \$100 out of his own pocket for his horse, saddle, and bridle, and took \$60 of his own money with him. When he sold the horse at Nashville he lost \$30 by the sale; he lost a horse valued at \$100 near Augusta, Georgia, and \$4 on his baggage horse. On his return he had \$40 left. In all he had \$516, of which his losses amounted to \$134; and so with what he had left he figured the cost of the mission at \$338. Was there ever a more splendid investment for God and home and native land?

He says further: "I expect that the Massachusetts Missionary Society will pay me for five months' service, though I have not come to a settlement with them yet. If the trustees of the Connecticut Missionary Society do not see fit to consider me their missionary after I crossed the Ohio, nor to allow me more than \$4 per week, it is well. I wish them to be inexorably just. I only regret that the expense and loss I sustained have put it out of my power to attempt as much a second time for the advancement of the cause which I profess to love." He wishes further that three or four weeks be

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deducted on account of time lost "by the tumult occasioned by the war," and his not having "uniformly good health." In just such little touches as these does the self-effacement and self-sacrifice of a true soldier of the cross show itself.

After an absence of a year and three days, the young missionary reached his home in Torrington. He had traveled nearly three thousand miles. He had traversed nearly every state and territory in the Union. Swimming his horse across the creeks, sleeping on the deck of a flatboat, tramping through nearly impenetrable cane-brakes and swamps, he had kept steadfastly on. In loghouse, schoolhouse, and state house, in rude church, or no church at all, he had preached the gospel. To the pioneer, hungry for the bread of life, and to the prodigal, who had tried to get beyond the reach of God and the gospel, he had spoken the word in due season. His eye had been quick to see the spiritual and moral desolation in all that region that promised so much worldly prosperity. His ear had heard the great cry from the prairies of the West and the savannas of the South for the Bible, that their children should not grow up ignorant, godless, and heathen. He came back to God's country to make God's people see

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the sights and hear the cries that he had seen and heard. In the next year the East heard passionate appeals from this heroic pioneer to go up and possess this great land in the name of the Lord.



VII

SECOND HOME MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(St. Louis, 1814-1815)

*The greatest of all missionaries to the heathen may prove to be the evangelist who never leaves his native land. A converted America means nothing less than a converted world. O Lord, give me America for Christ, and behold the heathen shall be his heritage, and the uttermost parts of the earth his possession.*

WILLIAM J. DAWSON.

*It is yet to be shown by the opposers of foreign missions, that the abettors of the cause abroad diminish their zeal for the cause at home. It is a maxim founded on actual experiences, that the more you do for the heathen, the more will be done at our doors. . . .*

*It affords unfeigned pleasure to be enabled to record that the very individual whom we have seen so indefatigably employed in projecting plans for evangelizing the heathen in distant lands, is the individual to whom all are disposed to yield the palm for his exertions in favor of the destitute on our western frontiers.*

GARDINER SPRING.

## VII

### SECOND HOME MISSIONARY JOURNEY

**I**N 1803, when Governor Claiborne took possession of the Louisiana Purchase for the United States, at New Orleans, it was not until after long search that a Bible could be found to administer the oath of office; and the one at last procured was a Latin Vulgate from one of the priests. It was to remedy this state of things that Mills and Schermerhorn made an appeal to the Philadelphia Bible Society to print five thousand French New Testaments, which the society agreed to do. It was the care and distribution of these Bibles which led Mills to offer himself for a new expedition into the Southwest.

“I presume,” he says, “it will not be expected that I should a second time volunteer my services, but I readily confess that I have for months past, and still have, a great desire to go over the ground a second time.” It is not curiosity that impels him. “For as far as curiosity

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is concerned I think one view of the country I passed through was sufficient abundantly to satisfy it. I should hope that should I attempt a second mission, as proposed, I must be impelled by a sense of duty as it were altogether irresistible. . . . I fear that there will be wanting men who will suitably seize upon this opportunity of doing good on a large scale. I fear if we send off the Heavenly Stranger (the Bible) into that God-forgetting and God-provoking portion of our country without anyone to introduce it — I fear the object of the benevolent will be only half attained.”

Most of his time after his return from New Orleans was apparently spent in Andover, whence he writes October 12, 1813, February 14, and March 24, 1814. During this time he was busy writing to Bible and missionary societies with all his accustomed zeal, urging them to send men and Bibles into this “God-forgetting and God-provoking portion of our country,” and pressing upon the theological students the claims of the new and rapidly developing West.

In the meantime he had received invitations to go on a mission to New Hampshire, also to the northern part of Pennsylvania, and an urgent demand for him was made as a missionary to the Choctaws in Mississippi Territory. All these

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attractive opportunities were passed by for the second home missionary journey.

One thing he had learned from his former mission, — not to go at his own charges. “When engaged on a mission and sent out by three or four societies from New England, I can truly say to beg I am ashamed, for I have no beggarly arguments to urge. I do not go from a poor portion of the States; I am not sent by societies which have poor and beggarly funds. To beg I am ashamed, because my calling is not a poor and beggarly calling, and if I am an efficient man I can obtain a living at home without going abroad to beg for it. If I am not of this character I ought not to be engaged on the mission. The laborer is worthy of his hire. Four hundred dollars cannot be esteemed a large sum to pay a missionary on the mission I propose. He may think himself fortunate if he does not come home in debt, should he live to return, even if allowed this sum.”

Apparently the Missionary Society of Connecticut and the New York societies were slow about accepting his proffered services, but the Massachusetts Missionary Society pledged \$600, the Philadelphia Bible Society \$600, and the Philadelphia Missionary Society \$100. With one companion, Daniel Smith, Mills started

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from Philadelphia, August 13, 1814, in a light wagon, which they proposed to retain as long as the roads would permit. Besides the French Testaments, six hundred English Bibles and fifteen thousand religious tracts published by the New England Tract Society, and fifty copies of the Memoirs of Harriet Newell were sent on to Pittsburg. Various other consignments of Bibles had been sent to Ohio, Tennessee, and Louisiana. These were for distribution along the way. The travelers reached Pittsburg August 28; then they went by different routes along the Ohio, meeting at Grave Creek, reaching Marietta, Ohio, September 8, where they found the Bible Society organized on the previous journey in a flourishing condition. Their work was religious conversation, preaching, distributing Bibles, and organizing Bible societies. On they traveled through Lancaster and Chillicothe to Cincinnati. There they held a consultation with a number of Presbyterian ministers as to whether they ought to push on westward to St. Louis. The vote was unanimously in favor of the forward movement. On went the missionaries through Lawrenceburg and Vincennes, Indiana, to Shawneetown, Illinois, where they met Judge Griswold from Connecticut, who promised to be a tower of strength. At Kas-

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kaskia, the capital of Illinois, they received the assurance of the cooperation of Governor Edwards. At Prairie du Rocher they secured the consent of the Roman Catholic bishop, Flaget, to the distribution of Bibles among his people, provided the translation met with his approval. So they kept on in a way that one says "reads like the tours of Barnabas and Saul."

Early in November they reached St. Louis, then a tumble-down French village of two thousand people, about one-third of whom were Americans. Three years later another pioneer missionary found that "one-half at least of the Anglo-American population were a low, indecent grade and utterly worthless. Their nightly orgies were scenes of drunkenness and revelry. Among the frantic rites observed were the mock celebration of the Lord's Supper and burning the Bible. . . . The boast was often made that the Sabbath had never crossed and never should cross the Mississippi." On the other hand Mills found many of the Americans highly respectable and well-informed, though few of them were religious. "Yet they appear thoroughly convinced by their own experience of the indispensable necessity of religion to the welfare of society." The missionaries saw also the strategic importance of St. Louis, and foresaw its

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large future. "There is high probability," they said, "that it will become a flourishing commercial town. Situated just below the confluence of the Illinois, the Mississippi, and the Missouri, no place in the Western Country, New Orleans excepted, has greater natural advantages. No place, therefore, has higher importance, considered as a missionary station."

So Mills plead with the Missionary Society to send out a "young man of talents, piety, and liberality of mind," who could teach school and preach, for there was not a single Protestant preacher or church in or near St. Louis. Mills and Smith preached in the schoolroom November 6. Probably this was not (as has been sometimes claimed) the first Protestant sermon in St. Louis, for at least the Methodist circuit rider had been in the land, but these were the first Protestant preachers to appreciate the situation and plan for the future, and they were the first Congregational or Presbyterian ministers in all that region. After a few days' stay in St. Louis, though the people heard them gladly and would have more gladly kept them permanently, they continued their apostolic journey back through Illinois and Indiana to Louisville, which they reached December 20; and January 5 started down the river for Natchez on a keel-



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boat, after sending some French Testaments to St. Louis, Vincennes, and other places. They reached Natchez February 6, 1815, in "good health and spirits." For some time they had been apprehensive that the disturbed state of the country, on account of the war, might seriously interfere with their further plans and mission. But there welcome news reached them: General Jackson had defeated and repulsed the British. "They are still hovering about the coast," they wrote, "and seem to meditate another attack, — at what point is altogether uncertain, — but we hope we shall be permitted to attend to the business of our Master's kingdom without molestation." Mills pressed on to New Orleans, while Smith remained preaching at Natchez and assisted in the dedication of the new Presbyterian church, of which a little later he became the first pastor.

Mills reached New Orleans February 10, a month after the battle (January 8), and the day before the British captured the American fort on Mobile Bay. He found unexpected work at hand. The very day of his arrival he visited the public prison, and found three hundred English soldiers there. He distributed Bibles, religious tracts, and sermons, with many a kindly greeting, and discovered that these British pris-

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oners were deeply interested in the Word. The next day he went to the United States Hospital, where there were three hundred sick and wounded, one hundred and eighty of them English prisoners. At the Navy Hospital he found forty sick, and at three houses twenty-one sick Kentuckians. Later on, when he visited the camp of the Kentucky troops, he learned that of the entire detachment of two thousand men there were eight hundred on the sick list, and that there was not a single chaplain with the Kentucky militia, and only four with the troops from Tennessee. When he called at the Charity Hospital he found forty sick soldiers from his old friends, the Tennesseans. "They had not a copy of the sacred Scriptures. A number were very pressing in their solicitations that we would supply them. We observed to them that they would soon leave the hospital for Tennessee, and as they expected to travel on foot eight hundred or a thousand miles, they could not carry their Bibles with them should they be supplied. Some of them answered at once that they would leave some other article rather than their Bibles. Upon our return we sent a number of Bibles to the hospital." A great mortality prevailed among the soldiers; since the battle twenty, and even thirty, had died in a day. The impression

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prevailed that if they went to the hospital they would never leave it alive. They were fairly well off for doctors, though four had died recently. Beds and mattresses were scarce, and there were few comforts for the sick and wounded. Mills explains the excessive sickness thus: "Many of the troops, after their arrival in the vicinity of this place, were subjected to great fatigue while defending the lines. Many of them were standing or lying for some successive days and nights in the low, marshy ground, where the water was nearly a foot deep. The weather was so cold as to freeze ice a quarter of an inch in thickness. Some of the soldiers at this time were poorly clothed." Under such conditions disease was far more deadly than British bayonets or bullets.

Here was abundant opportunity for Mills to prove himself a true minister of Jesus Christ. He was not found wanting. He visited the sick and prisoners, tenderly ministered to the dying, buried the dead, and brought the Word of Life to the living. "I have found unusual freedom," he says, "in speaking to the sick and dying in the hospitals. They almost uniformly give strict attention to what is said, and their tears bear witness for them that they do not remain unaffected. God only knows how lasting their

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serious impressions may be. But from what I have seen and heard in the hospitals, I am inclined to believe that some of the sufferers have been born again even on the threshold of the grave." When he spoke or prayed, those who were able crowded in from the other rooms, eager to listen and be helped. And in all these efforts he had the hearty cooperation of the officers and surgeons.

He writes of a later visit to the Kentucky sick: —

Numbers are still dangerously ill; they lie around the floor in all directions, — some groaning and some praying; they, however, gave very solemn and strict attention while I addressed and prayed with them. It was the first serious address and prayer that numbers of them had heard since they left home, and perhaps for years. When I was about leaving the room, one of the men, as he lay on the floor, reached out his hand, and grasping mine, exclaimed, "God bless you! God bless you!" I entered into conversation with him, and ascertained a hope that he had been born again. After conversing with him freely, I left him, with a request to examine himself in the presence of the heart-searching God, who could not be deceived and would not be mocked. What will be the result of exertions to relieve the wretched in these abodes of misery, these cages of despair, God only knows.

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He hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and here our hopes rest.

Mills, for the time being, performed all the duties of chaplain to the Kentucky soldiers. When he rode over to their camp to preach, he was accompanied by Generals Adair and Thomas. Eight hundred or a thousand soldiers were assembled in open field. A platform six or eight feet high had been erected for the speakers. Already they had great respect for the preacher because of the courage and devotion with which he had hazarded his life in ministering to the sick and prisoners. As the young man's face glowed with the warmth of his heart and his love for men, they listened intently, and felt intensely the power of the man and his message.

When it was certain that the war was over and the Louisiana militia were discharged (in March), they came in groups of eight or ten asking for Bibles to take home with them. "These poor men who had been jeopardizing their lives on the high places of the field in defence of their country—whose health, in many instances, had been destroyed by the fatigues they had endured, and some of them doubtless destined to fall by the way on their return to their homes—requested that they

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might be furnished with Bibles. We informed them that not a copy could be obtained. The deep regret which they manifested on receiving this information convinced us that they were sincere, well-meaning petitioners, and excited in our breasts emotions not to be described. But with an aching heart we sent them empty away, as we had done many of their fellows who had previously applied."

In this unexpected opportunity of ministering to the sick and wounded providentially thrust upon him, Mills did not forget the purpose of his coming to New Orleans. Two days after his arrival, when it became known that there would be a distribution of French Testaments, a crowd of fifty to a hundred people of all ages and colors and ranks thronged the door of the distributor. With outstretched hands they "became literally clamorous to have 'a book,' a word which was often vociferated in French by fifty voices at once." A colored woman carried her six-year-old child in her arms and pressed through the crowd for a book. Immediately the child took the book and read to her mother the story of Jesus taking the children in his arms (Mark 10: 13-16). Principals of the schools and the college sent in lists of the scholars with requests for copies. The French Testament was

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used as a text-book throughout the schools of the city. Thus in a week a thousand copies had been distributed, and by the first of March over fifteen hundred had been given out.

Père Antonio, who had been suspended by the Bishop of Baltimore soon after the American Occupation, and elected in true democratic fashion by the people as parish priest, was the real power among the Roman Catholics in New Orleans. Mills called and presented him with a number of Testaments. He expressed great satisfaction, and invoked the blessing of God on the donors. He also promised to do all in his power to secure a judicious distribution of the Scriptures among those who could read. Bishop Dubourg objected to the translation, expressing his regret that the Roman Catholic version (Boston, 1810) had not been followed instead of that of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He preferred, however, to have his people have the present version rather than remain entirely ignorant of the Bible.

The success of the French Testaments opened Mills' eyes to other needs,—an edition of a thousand Spanish Testaments and some French translations of the best tracts and religious books, especially those in regard to the Sabbath and intemperance. A priest told the mission-

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aries that previous to 1803, when the stars and stripes first floated over New Orleans, the people drank only light wines. Since that time large quantities of whisky had come down the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and the people were making taffia, a liquor like New England rum, from sugar-cane. One had only to look at the American graveyard to see the results; many not living but half their days, killed by hard drinking. The French and other foreigners easily followed this new American vice, until conditions had become alarming. It is worth noting that one of the Tennessee chaplains remarked to the missionaries that nearly all the hard drinkers among the soldiers from his state had died while in and around New Orleans.

After these stirring and strenuous scenes Mills made an excursion of one hundred and fifty miles into the Attakapas country, lying on the Gulf and west of the Mississippi, where he explored, preached, and distributed Bibles. During his absence Smith took passage for Charleston, South Carolina (they having resolved to return by water). After a tedious and hazardous voyage of twenty-seven days, the vessel putting into Havana in distress, he reached Charleston, South Carolina, where he had the opportunity of interesting a large audience in the religious



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needs and conditions in the Southwest, and secured an offering of ninety dollars for the work. Mills left New Orleans April 30, and reached Baltimore May 21, and during his stay in that city he interested the managers of the Bible Society in his work.

The travelers met again in Philadelphia, and found that the Bible Society of that city had voted one hundred Bibles and two hundred Testaments to each of the territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. They urged on the society the need of Spanish Testaments, and invited the Female Bible Society to send on a hundred Bibles to New Orleans. At New York they counseled with the local society as to the method of distributing their edition of six thousand French Bibles, nearly completed and destined for the South and West. At Hartford Mills learned that the Connecticut Bible Society had voted five hundred Bibles for Louisiana. Other cities and states were making appropriations of money and Bibles. Mills gratefully writes: "Thus, dear sir, the streams of Christian charity are beginning to flow into that thirsty, barren land where no water is. Would to God that they might continue and increase until every corner and every heart shall be refreshed with the water of life."

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Every letter the missionaries wrote was filled with heartfelt and heart-touching appeals. As they plead for a missionary immediately for Indiana, another for Illinois, and two for Missouri, they say: —

Perhaps, dear sir, we have already stepped beyond our proper bounds. Our appropriate business is to collect information and state facts; not to draw conclusions nor to attempt to direct our fathers in the ministry and the missionary bodies with respect to their duties. But we must ask your indulgence a little farther. The character of the settlers is such as to render it peculiarly important that missionaries be early sent among them. Indeed, they can hardly be said to have a character, assembled as they are from every state in the Union and originally from almost every nation in Europe. The majority, though by no means regardless of religion, have not yet embraced any fixed principles or sentiments respecting it. They are ready to receive any impressions which a public speaker may attempt to make. Hence every species of heretic in the country flocks to the new settlements.

In this formative state of society men of spiritual power and intellectual training were greatly needed, and a splendid opportunity for shaping educational work and other helpful institutions awaited such men. All the governors

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of these territories and a number of the judges were urgent in the demand for such men to be sent out. The writers thus continue their representations: —

Are not the fields there white already to the harvest? Would that the Christians at the East would lift up their eyes and behold! Could they but see what we have seen, — thousands ready to perish, their eyelids fast closed in spiritual slumber, and no one to awake them! Could they but see the sons and daughters of Jerusalem weeping for themselves and their children, surely missionaries would no longer be wanting, nor funds for their support. We commend into the hands of your Society their brethren in the West. We have done what we could for them. We have endeavored to represent their wretched condition. We have conveyed to your ears their earnest cries for aid. And surely, if there be any bowels and mercies, their cries will not be heard in vain. It is not the voice of strangers and foreigners. They are members of the same civil community with us. Many of them are fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. Some once enjoyed with delight the Sabbaths, the sermons, and sacraments of New England, and their hearts still retain the relish. Their eyes are constantly looking towards the East. Their prayers ascend daily, that God would incline the hearts of their brethren to remember them, and send one to break to them the bread of life. But the answer of

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their prayers is long deferred, and their hearts often sicken within them. By sending us among them, you have shown that they are not indeed forgotten, and have inspired them with a cheering hope. Shall that hope be grievously disappointed?

The report concludes with these stirring words of appeal: —

In reviewing the whole, we feel compelled to call upon our own souls, and to call upon the patrons of the mission, to bless the Lord. Surely goodness and mercy have followed us all the way. On a journey of more than six thousand miles, and passing through a great variety of climates, — in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils on the sea, — the Lord has preserved us. Neither can we forbear to express our obligations to our dear Christian friends in the Western country. We were strangers and they took us in. From many we received pecuniary aid, besides other important services; while the kind attentions and Christian fellowship of others alleviated our labors and comforted our hearts. In return for these favors we have felt compelled to do what we could for them. Ever since we came back to this land of Christian privileges we have been endeavoring to arouse the attention of the public, and to direct it towards the West. These exertions have been stimulated by a deep conviction of the deplorable state of the country. Never will the impressions be erased from our hearts that have been made by beholding

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these scenes of wide-spreading desolation. The whole country, from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico, is as the valley of the shadow of death. Darkness rests upon it. Only here and there a few rays of gospel light pierce through the awful gloom. This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased by a mighty flood of emigration. Soon they will be as the sands of the seashore for multitude. Yet there are at present only a little more than one hundred Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in it. Were these ministers equally distributed throughout the country, there would be only one to every ten thousand people. But now there are districts of country, containing from twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants, entirely destitute. And how shall they hear without a preacher?

To secure these preachers was Mills' chief endeavor as soon as he returned home.



VIII

RESULTS OF THE HOME MISSIONARY  
TOURS

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

*It is such missionary work that prevents the pioneers from sinking perilously near the level of savagery against which they contend. Without it the conquest of the continent would have had little but an animal side. Because of it, deep beneath and through the national character there runs the power of a firm adherence to a lofty ideal, upon which the safety of the nation will ultimately depend.*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



## VIII

### RESULTS OF THE HOME MISSIONARY TOURS

SAMUEL J. MILLS was something more than a missionary, — he was a home missionary statesman. When he returned from his first tour he and Schermerhorn issued a pamphlet of fifty pages entitled “A Correct View of that Part of the United States which lies West of the Alleghany Mountains, with respect to Religion and Morals” (Hartford, 1814). It was a revelation in facts and figures to the East of what had been an unknown country as far as religious statistics or conditions had been concerned. It was more than a revelation; it was an inspiration, an incentive, an imperative to go forward and possess the land in the name of the Lord. It “shed more light on the state of the destitute parts of the country than all other documents then in existence.” It was read and discussed not only in America, but in Europe, by such men as Dr. Chalmers. The report in the Connecticut Evangelical Maga-

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zine induced the Synod of Pittsburg to attempt vigorous measures for the education of promising young men, with a view to their becoming ministers of the gospel and missionaries. The other published works of Mills and his collaborators were as follows: "Report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America," Schermerhorn and Mills, 1813; "Communications relative to the Progress of Bible Societies in the United States," addressed to the Philadelphia Bible Society, Philadelphia, 1813; "Report of a Missionary Tour through that Part of the United States which lies West of the Alleghany Mountains, performed under the direction of the Massachusetts Missionary Society," by Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith, Andover, 1815.

These reports and the addresses which these young men made on their return East were like a bugle-call sounding "Forward" to the churches and the missionary societies. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, quick to recognize its responsibility and opportunity, organized the Board of Home Missions (1816) to take the place of its Standing Committee on Missions, and began to plant churches all along the firing line of the frontier. Mills went for a time to Andover to find suitable men,

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and not in vain. But the supply was not equal to the demand, for Professor Ebenezer Porter writes from Andover, July 24, 1815, to Rev. Abel Flint, Secretary of the Missionary Society of Connecticut: "We are so disturbed with calls for missionaries and pastors, which we cannot supply, that I have delayed till the last mail before your August meeting. Indeed, brother, we know not what to do, but pray the Lord of the harvest to raise up more laborers. Under the solemn pressure of this subject we are now building two educational societies in Boston and the vicinity on the Connecticut plan. Within one week we have received pressing applications for nine missionaries for different stations in our country."

In response to the reports and appeals ten or twelve preachers were sent West the first year, and more the second. From Stephen Hempstead, a devoted Christian layman of St. Louis, came a letter, saying that in the seven months since the missionaries had left not a single Protestant preacher had been there, and adding: "Brethren, pray for us, that we may not but wait God's good time to bestow these blessings on this part of our land. . . . Don't forget our destitute condition when you make report to the Society." In behalf of Governor Clark and the Supreme

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Court judges he begs for a preacher. The day after Christmas, 1815, Salmon Giddings, a friend of Mills at Williams and Andover, left his home in Hartland, Connecticut, for St. Louis, with a commission from the Missionary Society of Connecticut to do missionary work in Missouri and Illinois, — a large commission for a young, untried preacher. He became not only the first resident pastor in St. Louis, but the apostle of Missouri, and in the short ministry of twelve years he organized fourteen churches in Illinois and Missouri, including the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis. Some of the other pioneer preachers in Missouri were Timothy Flint, John Matthews, and Thomas Donnell. These three, with Giddings, formed the Presbytery of Missouri at St. Louis, December 18, 1817. The first business of the presbytery was the ordination of Donnell at Bellevue. "The gentleman, though sick with measles at the time, was inducted into office with happy auspices." Flint had traveled extensively as a missionary of the Connecticut Society. One of his stations had been at North Bend, — a village on the Ohio, near Cincinnati. There he found a friend in General William Henry Harrison, late governor of Indiana, the hero of Tippecanoe, and future president of the United States. "The log cabin,"

## RESULTS OF HOME TOURS

which figured so prominently in that presidential campaign, was "politely offered" by the general as a place of worship. Thus did he show his interest in and practical cooperation with the patriotic and heroic work of these home missionaries.

Louisiana was not forgotten. The Missionary Society of Connecticut sent Elias Cornelius, another friend of Mills and afterwards Secretary of the American Board, to New Orleans, which he reached in December, 1817. "The pious of different denominations had long been waiting for some one to break to them the bread of life, and forgetting the peculiarities of party, were ready to rally round any evangelical minister of Christ, and lend him their support and prayers," so runs the narrative of missions for 1818. "Hence," says Cornelius, "they received me with joy and gratitude, and flocked to hear me preach." Almost immediately he formed a church, — the First Presbyterian, — which was incorporated by special act of the legislature. He refused the permanent pastorate, and welcomed his friend, the knightly Sylvester Larned, to that position. Cornelius devoted himself to the hospitals, jails, seamen, and "a congregation of a couple of hundred Africans," a veritable city missionary.

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About this time Samuel Royce was sent by the same society "a missionary to the state of Louisiana," with headquarters at Alexandria on the Red River. Daniel Smith returned to the Presbyterian church of Natchez as permanent pastor. Time and space fail me to tell of what Home Missions have done for Illinois, and what the splendid fellows did who went into Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. It is a tale of heroism and noble daring that needs retelling. One word which has rung through this story as I have read it in faded, torn journals, century-old letters, and forgotten biographies, has been "sacrifice." How unsparingly, unhesitatingly these men gave themselves to the work! It reminds one of the old story of Rome, — how a great chasm opened in the forum, which the oracle said could be closed only when Rome cast into it the best she had. M. Quintus Curtius, a young noble, rightly divining that Rome's dearest possession was her noble sons, rode headlong into the chasm, which then closed. So not one but many of New England's best sons threw themselves into the breach. Larned died at twenty-four, Daniel Smith at thirty-four, Mills at thirty-five, Giddings, after twelve years' service, Robinson, of St. Charles, after ten years' heroic work that deserves a story of itself.

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The other sacrifice is that of Congregationalism.<sup>1</sup> Think of all she gave to Presbyterianism, — the empire of the Mississippi Valley. Twelve of the first missionaries to Missouri were Congregationalists, nine of them sent by the Missionary Society of Connecticut. Williams College, Andover Seminary, the Missionary Society of Connecticut, the Congregational churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut, pouring men and money unstintedly into building up another denomination and different system of church government because, forsooth, the democracy of the Pilgrims could not stand transplanting into the great West! Only time could demonstrate fully the fallacy. Congregationalism furnished nearly all the seed and sowers for the vast prairies of the Louisiana Purchase, and Presbyterianism has reaped a hundred, aye, a thousandfold. For

<sup>1</sup> This was due to the so-called "Plan of Union" between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. The idea grew up that stronger ecclesiastical bonds were needed in the new country, and sparsely settled regions, so that the purity of the churches could be preserved. It soon became accepted as a fact that Congregationalism was peculiarly suited to New England, and all west of the Hudson River should be Presbyterian. The Missionary Society of Connecticut instructed its missionaries to promote and foster this idea, and Presbyterianism was thus imposed upon people and churches sometimes reluctant to receive it; while in 1829 the American Education Society recommended to the young men who went from New England into the boundaries of the Presbyterian General Assembly that they "unite with the Presbyteries and not hold to Congregationalism."

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all this Mills and his companions did the seed-sowing. They were the pioneers, — the ones who spied out the land, who called the attention of the churches, the missionary societies, and the young men in the seminaries to the great need and the splendid opportunity. The Protestant invasion and occupation of the Louisiana Purchase at this time was largely due to Samuel J. Mills. Therefore he deserves the title “Home Missionary Statesman.”

During the two home missionary journeys Mills and his friends were always founding and organizing Bible societies. Besides supplying the Bible to the destitute, they had a broader purpose in view, — “to combine the united support and energies of all denominations by whatever name they were known.” They accomplished this purpose by organizing or planning for the organization of the Bible societies of Ohio, Nashville, or West Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, on the first journey, and, on the second, the societies of Washington, Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, St. Louis, as well as those of various places in Illinois and Indiana.

These various societies did much good, even beyond their own boundaries. For instance, the Louisiana Bible Society distributed Bibles among the thousands of refugees from San Domingo



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who had come to New Orleans in 1811; when later they returned to the home land they took back the Bibles with them. Some of these Bibles found their way to Havana. A missionary visiting New Orleans in 1825 wrote: "But a short time since New Orleans was thought almost beyond the reach of Christian sympathy and Christian efforts, and yet this year, with one exception, of any Auxiliary Bible Society in the United States." In their report for 1815 the Louisiana Bible Society says: "We receive that we may communicate. Religion, like other blessings, is to be diffused by human agencies and human benevolence. It has flowed to us through the zeal and labor of those who have gone before us, and we are bound to repay the debt by spreading it around us and transmitting it unimpaired to succeeding ages. Though the Bible has not yet converted whole nations, it may prepare the way for missionaries; and though in countries denominated Christian much ignorance and vice may remain after the Bible has been generally distributed, no one can say that it may not have extirpated much which would have taken root had not exertions been made to repress them."

Such was the work that Mills had set in mo-

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tion, but he was not satisfied. One of the great needs that was impressed upon him by his Southwestern journeys was a National Bible Society.<sup>1</sup> The British and Foreign Bible Society had been organized in 1804, and "Old England has no brighter jewel in her crown." Mills felt that America needed just such an institution, and he corresponded with prominent men upon the subject. In one of these letters he says: "It is my serious belief that with all the exertions of our thirty Bible societies at the present time we do but little more than supply the yearly increasing population in the States, and I suspect we do not do even that. Cannot some means be attempted to impress the minds of the religious public, and in a proper manner, with the importance of this subject? Cannot some means be attempted to unite all the different religious denominations to aid the object?" The report of the second journey concludes with a burning appeal. The immediate need of the new country alone is 76,000 Bibles. The existing societies cannot supply the need. Mills says: "When we entered on the mission

<sup>1</sup> The first Bible Society to be organized in America was that at Philadelphia in 1808. The Connecticut Bible Society and the Massachusetts Bible Society followed in 1809. So rapid was the spread of the idea that in 1816 there were 132 Bible societies independent of each other, and lacking unity or even cooperation.

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we applied to the oldest and wealthiest institutions for Bibles to distribute in the Western country, but we could obtain only one solitary donation. The existing societies have not been able to supply the demand in their own immediate vicinity. Some mightier efforts must be made. Their scattered and feeble exertions are by no means adequate to the accomplishment of the object. It is thought that half a million of Bibles are necessary for the supply of the destitute in the United States. It is a foul blot on our national character. Christian America must arise and wipe it away. The existing societies are not able to do it. They want union; they want cooperation; they want resources. If a National Institution cannot be formed, application ought to be made to the British and Foreign Bible Society for aid."

He persuaded gifted friends of his to write essays upon the subject, undoubtedly those appearing in *The Panoplist* about this time. By personal conversation with prominent laymen and ministers, by addresses before missionary societies, Bible societies, and various religious bodies, he was preparing the way for what he believed to be the greatest need of his native land.

In 1815 the New Jersey Bible Society originated and sent to the other Bible societies a plan

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for a national society. The New York Society indorsed the plan, and Elias Boudinot, president of the New Jersey Society, called a meeting of delegates from all the Bible societies in the country. They met in New York City, May 8, 1816, and organized The American Bible Society, "of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment." Its field was not only the United States, but was also, "according to its ability, to extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or pagan."

The society in itself was a great triumph. It included in its founders and officers members of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Methodist Episcopal, the Baptist, Congregational, and Friends' churches. It was the first time that the different religious denominations had been brought together in America for such concerted action.

"They met on the broad platform of the Bible, 'where names and sects and parties fall.' " They declared that they were united in "the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist and in the most faithful translations where they may be required. In such a work, whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true,

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has ample scope, while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenues of admission." Even those who had doubted the practicability of the plan were won over when they saw the harmony, cordiality, and Christian courtesy of the proceedings of the convention. They said, "This thing is of God," and lent heart and hand to the work.

All the participants in the movement and its historians are unanimous upon one point, — the influence which Samuel J. Mills had in bringing about the organization of this national Bible Society. In fact, this young man of thirty-three had become a national figure in the councils of the churches. Gardiner Spring, Edward D. Griffin, and Lyman Beecher, who was secretary of the convention, — all agree that in his quiet way, by writing letters and in conversations with the influential men of all denominations, he had interested literally thousands of people, and thus had made it possible for these men from different parts of the country and from diverse denominations to find a common standing-ground. He himself had been greatly interested in the British and Foreign Bible Society, and from it drew his ideas and inspiration. Yet it was Mills' own "profound wisdom, indefatigable industry, and unparalleled executive power in the excite-

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ment and combination of minds in benevolent combinations," according to Lyman Beecher, that made him "the primary agent in this movement." Mills had come back from his two trips to the westward deeply impressed with the fact that the "need and nakedness" of all that country could be helped only by a distribution of the Bible in every settlement. Again he looked upon the growing work in the foreign field. Here the great need of the devoted laborers, to make their self-sacrificing labors effective, was the Bible in the native tongue. So the day when the American Bible Society was born was a day of rejoicing to Mills; for that society was not only the child of his efforts and his prayers, but also the loyal handmaiden and efficient helper of the causes which were far dearer to him than life, — home and foreign missions.

When the day came that his hopes were to bear fruit, he was present as the leaders of the various denominations gathered. As the convention was called to order he took a seat in the gallery behind the rest of the audience, where he could see but yet be in the background. His face was a study. Plain and of little promise, it would hardly call for a second glance in the audience that numbered intellectual giants and spiritual leaders of the churches of America.

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As the discussion went on, and the united co-operation was assured, that plain face glowed with a strange, unearthly light. The spirit of the divine Master had transformed and transfigured the common clay. It was a subject worthy of the genius of a master artist. It needed the pencil of a West or a Raphael to delineate that look of rapture, said one who looked upon this never-to-be-forgotten transformation. But he stayed not upon this mountain of transfiguration, but went down into the slums of a great city to cast out the demons of vice and iniquity which were even then paralyzing the submerged tenth of New York.





IX

CITY MISSIONARY WORK — THE  
UNITED FOREIGN MISSIONARY  
SOCIETY

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*The first city was built by a murderer, and crime and vice and wretchedness have festered in it ever since. But into the last city shall enter nothing that defileth, neither shall there be any more sorrow or crying, for the former things shall have passed away. Shelley said, "Hell is a city much like London," but the city redeemed is, in the vision of the Revelator, the symbol of heaven — heaven on earth — the kingdom fully come.*

JOSIAH STRONG.

*Whether our national life is great or mean, whether our social virtues are mature or stunted, whether our sons are moral or vicious, whether religion is possible or impossible, depends upon the city. When Christianity shall take upon itself in full responsibility the burden or care of the cities, the kingdom of God will openly come on earth. What Christianity waits for also as its first apologetic and justification to the world is the founding of a city which shall in a visible reality be a City of God. People do not dispute that religion is in the church. What is wanted is to let them see it in the city. One Christian city, one city in any part of the earth, whose citizens from the greatest to the humblest lived in the spirit of Christ, where religion had overflowed the churches and passed into the streets, inundating every house and workshop and permeating the whole social and commercial life — one such Christian city would seal the redemption of the world.*

HENRY DRUMMOND.

## IX

### CITY MISSIONARY WORK — THE UNITED FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

**D**URING his home missionary journeys Mills had been simply commissioned by the missionary societies. He was not yet ordained as a minister of the gospel. On his return from the second journey he heard that some of his friends and associates in Andover were to be ordained foreign missionaries. Among the number was James Richards, one of his comrades at the haystack meeting. He desired to be present at his ordination, and was glad to avail himself of the opportunity of being formally set apart to the ministry. Accordingly he was ordained at Newburyport, June 21, 1815, with James Richards, Daniel Poor, Horatio Bardwell, Benjamin C. Meigs, and Edward Warren.

The services were held in Doctor Dana's church. The examination was held in the vestry at nine o'clock in the morning. Evidently the young men were orthodox, for there could not have been much theological discussion

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in the two hours devoted to the examination of the six candidates. The ordination services were held in the church at eleven o'clock. After the singing of the anthem, "Arise, shine, O Zion," prayer was offered by Dr. Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown. The sermon was preached by Dr. Samuel Worcester of Salem. His theme was "Paul on Mars Hill, or A Christian Survey of the Pagan World" (Acts 17: 16). Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport made the prayer of consecration, while Dr. Daniel Dana gave the charge to the missionaries. So far the services had been conducted by the older men, with whom the Brethren had consulted and who had been prominent in the formation of the American Board. It was fitting that a companion of Mills and Richards at Williams, Justin Edwards, then pastor at Andover, should extend the right hand of fellowship. Edward Payson of Portland closed the ordination services with prayer. After this the Lord's Supper was administered, so it must have been late in the afternoon when the exercises were completed. But in those days they took time to do things decently and in order. Many people had gathered from the neighboring churches, and the deeply impressive services increased the missionary spirit in all the churches in that section of New England.

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On the 23d of October all except Mills sailed on the brig "Dryad" as missionaries to Ceylon. It had been originally intended that Meigs and Warren should go on a mission to the Indians, but Warren being in poor health, a pulmonary trouble, it was decided that a sea voyage would be beneficial for him. It was then suggested that Mills take his place, and go with Meigs on a permanent mission to the Indians instead of a further exploring tour. But this plan was given up, and Mills went neither to Ceylon nor to the Choctaws. Again he was left at home, but still he worked for foreign missions. During the next two years he resided chiefly in the Middle States, living sometimes in Albany, in New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and Washington. All this time he was talking over with prominent men his missionary plans and purposes. For some time he lived at the home of Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin, at Newark, New Jersey, afterwards President of Williams College, ostensibly to study theology; but Dr. Griffin found himself the pupil as Mills unfolded his imperial projects for the kingdom of God. Dr. Griffin afterwards said: "I have been in situations to know that from the counsels formed in that sacred conclave (referring to Mills and his associates at Williams), or from the mind of Mills

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himself, arose the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the United Foreign Missionary Society, the African school, under the care of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, besides all the impetus given to Domestic Missions, to the Colonization Society, and to the general cause of benevolence in both hemispheres." He then adds: "If I had any instrumentality in originating any of these measures, I here publicly declare that in every instance I received the first impulse from Samuel John Mills."

While in Newark Mills wrote to his former colleague, Rev. Daniel Smith, then pastor at Natchez. The letter, which is dated January 6, 1816, is inserted to give an idea of the character of the man, and also as a fair specimen of his letter writing:—

DEAR BROTHER, — I received your letter, dated October 19, while at Tarringford. I have heard nothing from you since. I conclude a kind providence has preserved your life, and carried you to the desired haven. If so, you will feel, I doubt not, that you have more cause than ever to exclaim, "Bless the Lord, O my soul." The dangers we have passed together ought ever to keep alive in our hearts a spirit of gratitude to God.

You say in your letter, "I go forward with a cheer-

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ful heart, — I hope the Lord is with me.” It is always safe trusting in the Lord. We who have experienced so much of his kindness ought surely not to be faithless, but believing. You have gone to a dark portion of our country, but we hope it is soon to be illuminated by the light of the everlasting gospel. Sooner or later it is to be a province of the Redeemer’s kingdom; and the sooner the seed is sown, the sooner shall we expect the harvest. Many prayers are offered up by the good people you have left behind for your safety and success; therefore be strong in the Lord.

I have hardly heard from the neighborhood of Boston since you left the city. Mr. E—— declined going on to New Orleans this season. I should hope you would give that vacant people a part of your time. Revivals of religion have been experienced in a number of towns in Connecticut. In more or less the good work still continues. The Holy Spirit seems to attend the labors of Mr. N—— in S——.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that one hundred and forty persons have become subjects of the work. In Morristown and Springfield, in this state, there is much more than usual attention. When you write me, give me all the information you can relative to the Western country. The report we made out of our Western tour I have the satisfaction to believe is highly approved; so much so, that perhaps we may be in danger of becoming proud of it — but I hope not. There can be no doubt that it has been

<sup>1</sup> Asahel Nettleton in Salisbury.

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the means of interesting a great many persons of influence and wealth in favour of our destitute country, and if those in the districts of the country described do not feel themselves under any obligations to us now, they will at some future period.

You say you wish for my advice. As to this, I have not much to say. The Word of God, your particular circumstances, and your past experience, must be your guide. I have thought it very desirable that you should make it a part of your business to aid in the distribution of the Bibles which have been sent on to New Orleans. I received a letter in November last from Andover, informing me that a pious young man, and much devoted to the missionary cause, had gone on to New Orleans for his health, and expected to spend the winter there, and that he wished to be employed in the distribution of Bibles and Testaments, in hopes of obtaining in this way part of his support. Perhaps you will find him of service to you in carrying your plans into effect. Do not fail to write to him. I hope you will be able to obtain some contributions for the Bible societies, and that they will soon begin to purchase Bibles for themselves.

Might you not, in giving out the tracts, aid in the formation of Tract Societies in some of the most important places? It is much to be desired that the people should acquire the habit of supporting religious and charitable institutions. It seems desirable you should return to New England the next summer. You should delay entering on your tour as late as



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circumstances will permit. Your services must be very much needed where you are.

Looking into a newspaper lately I observed a paragraph which stated that a Spanish minister had arrived in New Orleans from Old Mexico. Would it not be a good thing to ascertain from him the state of that portion of the country, with a view of sending Bibles there as soon as an opportunity shall present? Do obtain all the information you can. Remember me affectionately to my friends at Natchez. Let the good people at New Orleans know that I have not forgotten them. Pray for me, that I may be directed in the path of duty, and saved from injuring the cause I profess to love.

Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

*Sam<sup>l</sup> J. Mills.*

So did he follow up with letters and prayers the good work which he had started in the Southwest. While he had such a multitude of interests, he never seemed to lose sight of any of them. It did not seem possible for him to have too many irons in the fire. While he was forging one into shape the others were heating. Mills could never be idle. While some of his plans were maturing, and the "divine ferment," which he had been putting in the minds of men who were to make history, was working, he found a new field of labor. He who had felt

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the darkness resting on the land from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico was to know and make known the shadows that rested on Darkest New York. We are accustomed to think of both city slums with their horrors and city missions with their relief as things of to-day. There were slums in those days, and efforts to relieve the awful condition of the poor people who lived there.

There was in New York at this time (1816) a "Female Missionary Society for the Poor of New York and Vicinity," which employed the Rev. Ward Stafford as its missionary. Mills spent some time during the summer of 1816 in hearty cooperation in the work. Mr. Stafford, in his report to the society, March, 1817, speaks in the highest terms of Mills' labors in this "new missionary field." They found there conditions which are usually thought of as characteristic of to-day. There were houses crowded with from four to twelve families each, often two or three families in a room, and "those of all colors," with all the evidences of the immorality which overcrowding tends to produce. Whole neighborhoods were found reduced by intemperance to "beggary, wretchedness, and death." There were in the city, which at this time had a population of one hundred and ten

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thousand, fourteen hundred and eighty-nine licensed retail liquor dealers, and in the seventh ward, poor and beggared beyond description, two or three hundred saloons. Not less than six thousand "abandoned females" added to the vice and shame. Men who thrived on their dishonor kept large numbers of them practically slaves, behind grated windows. Dance halls and dives, with "The Way to Hell" inscribed in glaring capitals, were displayed, twenty in the space of thirty or forty rods. The Sabbath had become to the people in this part of the city a day of idleness, recreation, drunkenness. Two or three thousand passed on Sunday over the ferry at Corlaer's Hook to Long Island. So was Coney Island antedated. "The steam and horse boats which cross the waters surrounding the city were literally crowded on the Sabbath."

The condition of the children was desperately bad, — their education neglected, and they were surrounded by and often trained in vice and pollution, "of which it is unlawful to speak." "The true condition of our large cities," Dr. Spring says, "in respect of moral instruction, it is lamentable to state, has been little thought of, even by those who in other departments of duty manifest a commendable zeal in promoting the

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best interest of their fellow men. This 'new missionary field,' as it has been justly styled, discloses a picture that we little expected to behold."

Into this "new missionary field" Mills threw himself with all the ardor and enthusiasm of the past. His health at this time was poor, but his zeal intense. He writes in his journal, July 21, 1816: "My indisposition rather increases than abates. Perhaps the Lord has little more for me to do in this world. He has made me an instrument in his hand of doing some good; but what have been the motives which have actuated me are best known to himself. I many times fear I shall yet be dashed to pieces, as a vessel in which the Master has no pleasure." One seems to hear in these words the echo of Paul's "lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

Among the localities which he visited were Lombardy, Baucker, Harman, Orange, Skinner, and First streets. He called one day from Number 1 to 100, and found twelve families destitute of the Bible. Of the fifty families upon whom he called another day on Orange Street, he found one-third not even able to read a Bible if they had one. In other quarters the

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spiritual destitution was even worse. A married woman of thirty, in answer to the question whether they had a Bible in the house, said in surprise: "A Bible! What do you do with the Bible?" Then he told her of its worth, — that it was the word of the Living God; that it had in it the great rules of character and conduct; that it was unexcelled in its comforts and consolations.

"Generally," he writes, "the people are very ignorant. Ask them if they hope they are Christians, and they answer, 'Yes, they have no doubt of that.' Ask them whether they have been born again, — explain to them the nature of regeneration, — and you will ascertain that they know nothing of the subject. Press upon them the necessity of a change of heart, and describe their awfully exposed condition, — tell them *Thou art the man*, — and in some instances they appear solemn and affected to tears. Where we leave Bibles with persons of this character, we often obtain their solemn promise to read them with attention. The great mass of these people are fitly represented by Ezekiel's vision of dry bones. 'Come, O breath from the four winds, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live!'"

So he went about from house to house doing the work of a Bible colporteur and city mis-

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sionary, leaving Bibles where there were none, arousing the unconverted, seeking out the families from the country that had left their religious life back on the farm, cheering the sick and comforting the bereaved. One day he found a mother alone with her dead child. He brought not only sympathy to the woman, but the woman to her Saviour.

The needs of the seamen, plentiful at that time in the port of New York, touched him. He prayed and consulted with others a good deal about a Marine Bible Society, which was organized the next year, with Rev. Ward Stafford as secretary. But all the time his mind was busy with far-away plans. Ever since his return from the West he had been maturing in his mind, and filling other minds with a plan for exploring South America, with a view to missionary possibilities and opportunities. He would make a report on religious conditions and needs and make an appeal to Christian people. It was not until seven years later that President Monroe, in his annual message, announced his famous doctrine of our special interest in the political welfare of South America. It was not until ten years later that the Presbyterians sent even a tentative mission to Buenos Ayres. But our young missionary statesman was early con-

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vinced of the need and of the responsibility of the United States in the matter. He had collected much information in regard to South America, and had even made overtures to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in regard to going. He wrote from New York, October 3, 1813, to Elias Cornelius on the subject: —

† I thank you for suggesting the expediency of an exploring mission to the Rev. Fathers at Hartford, and am happy to hear that they approve of the object. I have long thought that to effect what we wish in the best manner, it would be desirable to sail in a ship commanded by officers who should have the business of exploring and ascertaining the best missionary stations particularly in view during the voyage. But perhaps such an opportunity ought not to be expected. But I confess I am tired of delays. I have for some time past been endeavouring to pass the limits of these states and territories. I am “pestered in this pin-hole here.”

Thus far my experience proves that the further I proceed from home, the greater good God enables me to do. By his blessing most has been effected at the most distant points. I do not know that a similar result would follow on the mission we contemplate; but I should like to try it, and alone, if it seems the will of heaven. I hope you will lose no time in mak-

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ing the inquiries necessary to ascertain whether a passage could be obtained on board the ship which you refer to in your letter. I should wish to know the character of the commodore, or captain; and if a chaplain is wanted, what would be the services expected from one acting in that capacity? I shall wish to know at what places the ship will touch during the voyage; and I should particularly wish you to give me the opinion of my Christian friends in the vicinity of Boston relative to my qualifications for the contemplated service. You will have opportunity to see the gentlemen belonging to the Prudential Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions, and I hope you will converse with them on this subject. Were I to engage in this service, I should hope a brother might be found who would go with me. Perhaps the Lord will incline you to engage in this work.

It is expected that the ship "Eagle," commanded by Captain Davis, will sail from Boston in a few weeks for the Northwest coast. The ship will call at the Sandwich Islands during the voyage, but there are objections to going in one engaged in the Northwest trade. Still, a list of inquiries might be presented, requesting particular information with respect to the state of the islands, and other places, where the ship should call. I hope this hint will be kept in mind.

My dear brother, should I leave this country, and you remain here, you must supply my place, or find some person who will. I cannot leave the benevolent



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plans I have in view without some one to see them perfected.

Yours affectionately,

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That very year (1813) the Prudential Committee of the American Board was directed by the vote of the Board to inquire in regard to the feasibility of sending a mission to St. Salvador, Brazil. Ten years later (1823), under the auspices of the Board, John C. Bingham and Theophilus Parvin opened a school, which soon became self-supporting. So its teacher was honorably discharged by the Board in 1826, and continued his educational mission on his own responsibility. Bingham left Buenos Ayres in October, 1824, and crossed the continent to the Pacific. He investigated the condition of the Araucanian Indians, visited Chili and Peru, and returned to the United States by the way of Mexico, with valuable information. His trip was much like those of Mills in the United States.

Mills' plan for a mission to South America would not down. If the existing missionary societies could not or would not spy out the land and occupy the field, another society could be formed. Mills had long felt that the Presby-

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terian Church had not been doing anything like her share in foreign missions. The General Assembly had been exceedingly active in pushing their claims to the westward, and seemed thoroughly awake to the need of men and money for home missions, but nothing had been done by the Presbyterian Church in America for foreign missions, except through the American Board and other societies. She had no Foreign Missionary Society of her own, and the only thing which she had done directly outside the work for the new settlements was the various missions among the Indian tribes undertaken by David Brainerd and others. Mills was determined that the great Presbyterian Church, with all her resources, must be set at work in foreign missions. While at Dr. Griffin's home, in Newark, Mills' busy brain and zealous heart evolved a plan for the union of the Presbyterians and some other denominations in a foreign missionary society. Dr. Griffin advised him to lay these plans before other influential men, and they were presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its meeting in Philadelphia, 1818, Mills himself being present. The Assembly approved of the plan, and appointed a committee to confer with Reformed Churches in regard to the matter. The propo-

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sition met with a cordial reception from the governing bodies of these sister churches. The constitution adopted specified that: "The Society shall be composed of the Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch, and Associate Reformed churches, and all the others who may choose to join them; and it shall be known by the name of 'The United Foreign Missionary Society.' The object of this Society shall be to spread the gospel among the Indians of North America, the inhabitants of Mexico and South America, and other portions of the heathen and anti-Christian world."

Writing home to his father the good news of this organization and of its future, with characteristic modesty he says: "I would not intimate that I have been the prime mover in this business; if I have been permitted, with others, to aid the object, it is enough." But we have the testimony of men who were there and prominent in the organization that, "next to the Spirit of God on his heart, Mr. Mills was 'the prime mover in this business.'"

The society immediately came under the favorable notice of President Monroe, and received a portion of the annual fund appropriated by Congress to the civilization of the Indians. Colonel McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, "could scarcely have embarked in its favor with

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more zeal and activity if the whole concern had been his own." Missions were established among the Osages in Missouri and Arkansas; so were the Cataraugus Mission in New York, the Mackinaw Mission in Michigan, and one strictly foreign mission, — that to Hayti, in 1824. Other missions of the Presbyterian Church to the Indians were transferred to it, so that when the work of the Society passed into the hands of the American Board in 1826, it consisted of nine missions and included sixty missionaries. Although the work for South America was not taken up until later, it is undoubtedly true that the large interest which the Presbyterian Church has taken in that continent had its beginnings in the plans and purposes of this young man.

X

“THE POOR AFRICAN”

*If an evil exists in a community, a remedy must be sought, especially if it be an evil generally and necessarily increasing in its unhappy effects. As long as no exertions are made to redress the grievance, the case must become every day more helpless.*

S. J. MILLS.

*But the darling object of Mr. Mills and the one for which he seems to have been specially raised up was the amelioration of Africa. The civil, moral, and religious degradation of that benighted land lay with continual weight upon his mind.*

P. K. KILBOURNE.

*For a mind teeming with plans to extend the Redeemer's kingdom, wholly devoted to that single object and incessantly engaged to rouse others to the same spirit, they fear they shall not soon look on his like again.*

BOARD OF THE AFRICAN SCHOOL.

## X

### “THE POOR AFRICAN”

**F**ROM the times of the haystack until the day of his death the passion of Mills' heart was the Dark Continent. Back in his college days he made this entry in his diary: “Oh, that I might be aroused from this careless and stupid state, and be enabled to fill up life well! I think I can trust myself in the hands of God and all that is dear to me; but I long to have the time arrive when the Gospel shall be preached to the POOR AFRICANS, and likewise to all nations.”

That prayer was answered; his short life was filled up well and finished in the service of Africa.

During his trips through the Southern States he was deeply impressed by the needs of “his poor African brethren,” as he called them. In fact, he had for a year felt, as he himself puts it, “an earnest desire to meliorate the condition of the people of color in the United States.” The hope of aiding in some plan to effect this

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object had been one of the inducements of his home missionary journeys. The facts collected and the conditions observed were of great service to him later on. He estimated that there were a million and a half negroes in the United States. Many of them were able to read, and he was persuaded that "to give these destitute, afflicted blacks the Scriptures would be like carrying the everlasting gospel into the very heart of Africa. Many of the slaveholders are willing that their slaves should be possessed of this treasure; at the same time are too negligent to see them supplied." He naïvely gave his opinion of slavery in a comment upon the fact that a minister in the South had told him that a sick man begged for a Bible with tears in his eyes. "Slaveholders," he says, "peculiarly need the consolation which the Bible is calculated to afford, especially on a dying bed." He discovered, too, in the South, much right feeling toward the slaves. In fact, he found many of the owners ready to emancipate their slaves if only some right disposal could be made of the colored people after emancipation. Many Southerners felt then that the best good of both the whites and blacks demanded their separation. Mills came back North satisfied that something ought to be done, for, said he, "We must save



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the negroes or the negroes will ruin us.” He proposed that a large tract of territory in the thinly settled West be set apart as a negro colony, to which all the free black people should be transported, and that a government with suitable laws be established until such a time as they should be capable of self-government. Mills tried hard to get a grant of a township of land in Ohio, Illinois, or Indiana, on which a small colony might be planted. By this he hoped to prove the practicability of the plan, and to form the nucleus of a larger colony either in the farther West or in Africa. In this plan he tried to interest the negroes as well as the whites. The plan failed, not so much because it was thought impracticable, as because of the feeling among the Northern people that whether they lived to see the day or not, the time would come when the whites would want all the region, and they would have it, and would drive the negro colony out.

Mills' ever busy mind soon evolved another plan to help the African. This time it was along educational lines. The establishment of the African School at Parsippany, New Jersey, by the Synod of New York and New Jersey, in 1816, was largely due to his efforts. The object was to educate young colored men as preachers

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and teachers for service, not only in the United States, but also in the West Indies and Africa. These words from the address of the Board having charge of the school have a strangely modern sound: "If Africa is to stand forth in the glory of Christianity and civilization, her own sons, and not the sons of strangers, must be the instructors of her youth and her ministers of religion. No nation will ever advance far in any improvement but by the instrumentality of her own children. Strangers may make a beginning; but strangers cannot continue to support her schools and churches. History presents no instance of the kind. Apostles and missionaries may pass over a country, but native teachers must finish the work."

As soon as this new work for young colored men was organized Mills was appointed soliciting agent in the Middle States. He was both zealous and successful in his financial efforts for the school. He gives his own method of work in some advice to his friend Edward W. Hooker of Andover, who had been appointed to succeed him as soliciting agent. "In your sermons or addresses state *facts*. Facts will always produce an effect, especially on pious minds. You can easily possess yourself of facts, the bare recital of which will make the heart bleed. If you are

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not already possessed of facts of this character I can furnish you.”

So little had been done by the churches for the religious welfare of the negroes, he said, that one could easily believe that the Christian public was agreed with some of the slaveholders in the belief which they soberly maintained, — that the black folk have no souls. “It has been, and still is, the hard lot of multitudes of these people to be chained to tasks, and to have labor required of them with stripes that a man of common feeling would weep to see inflicted on a brute. And to complete the climax of their sufferings, the Church has withheld the only cup of consolation which could alleviate their sorrows, — the hope of heaven derived from the gospel.” It is true that Sunday-schools for colored people had been established from Portland to Raleigh. The Methodists and Baptists had colored preachers of great power who ministered to large congregations, but the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had done almost nothing.

Some persons became interested in the school because it was looked upon as an auxiliary to the colonization movement, and would facilitate any work in that direction by providing leaders. Calls came from Natchez and New Orleans for trained colored men. It was felt that the only

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way to raise a higher religious and moral standard among the negroes crowding into the cities was through the black leaders. All denominations were invited to contribute to what was felt to be a patriotic as well as a missionary work. The school continued for some years, and did good work, though the number of scholars was never large. When an attempt was made to lessen the expenses by requiring a certain amount of manual labor of each student, they protested, and finally the school was broken up.

Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport is generally known as founder of the Hopkinsian system of theology. He was more than metaphysician, for he held the most advanced antislavery views of his times. Several years before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he preached a sermon, boldly denouncing the traffic in slaves and slaveholding to his congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, who had grown rich in the slave traffic. Whittier said of that scene and sermon: "It may be well doubted whether on that Sabbath day the angels of God in their wide survey looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport rising up before his slaveholding congregation, and demanding in the name of the Highest the deliverance and

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the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.”

The church, instead of being incensed at his attitude, soon passed a vote branding the slave-trade and slavery as “a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence, which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church.” Rhode Island declared all slaves free-born in her territory subsequent to March, 1784.

Hopkins' work did not end here. He felt that some compensation ought to be made to Africa by America for the injustice and evil done by the slave-trade. He therefore resolved to educate two Africans, — Yamma and Quamine, — and send them back to their native land as teachers and preachers of the gospel. In this plan he was ably seconded by Ezra Stiles, afterwards president of Yale. Their plans were interrupted by the Revolutionary War, which drove Dr. Hopkins and his congregation from their homes, and the negroes from their studies; so the plan fell through. Here was the germ of African colonization, and the beginning of the idea of sending Africans to their native land as the heralds of Christianity.

Besides its general influence, this plan of Dr. Hopkins is of special importance. The father

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of Samuel J. Mills was an intimate friend of Samuel Hopkins, when the latter preached at Great Barrington, Massachusetts. That Mills' father sympathized with this movement that his friend had set in motion is beyond question. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the younger Mills' devoted interest in Africa was due to Dr. Hopkins' early interest and indefatigable labors in behalf of the Dark Continent. It is significant, too, that two of Hopkins' negro pupils, Salmon Nubia and Gardner, in their old age, did go out to Liberia.

It is impossible even to summarize here the history of all the plans for the colonization of Africa by negroes from America. As early as 1800 the legislature of Virginia had requested the governor, James Monroe, to correspond with the President, Thomas Jefferson, on the subject of purchasing land for the colonization of free negroes. Jefferson, who was heartily in favor of emancipation, gave his approval and cooperation to these efforts towards colonization. Various places were considered, — St. Domingo, the West, the Spanish possessions in South America, and Sierra Leone. These proceedings, which were several times repeated, and were in secret session, amounted to nothing until in 1816, when Charles F. Mercer introduced a resolution into

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the Virginia legislature, requesting the governor to correspond with the President for the purpose of obtaining some suitable asylum for the free negroes “on the coast of Africa.” Of this resolution Rev. Dr. Robert Finley heard, and believed the time ripe for his long cherished plan of African colonization. With the aid of influential friends he called a meeting to consider such plans in Washington, December 21, 1816. Henry Clay presided at that meeting, and Francis S. Key (author of “The Star Spangled Banner”) was chairman of the committee on constitution. A few days later, January 1, 1817, a constitution was adopted, of which the following are the opening paragraphs: “This Society shall be called ‘The American Society for colonizing the free people of color in the United States.’ The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient.”

Mills had left home in October, still working at various plans, but, as he says, “with mind ready to embrace any benevolent object which should present and which should demand my attention.” When he reached New York he heard of the plans on foot in Washington look-

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ing toward the formation of a colonization society. He felt that here was his opportunity, and made hurried preparations to go to Washington. He traveled rapidly by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore, spreading the news along his trail. When he reached the capital he called on Elias B. Caldwell. "He informed me," Mills wrote to his father, "that there would be a prayer-meeting at his house that evening for the special purpose of seeking divine blessing on a meeting which was to be held on the evening of the succeeding day, to consider the expediency of forming a colonization society. He likewise made me acquainted with the plan proposed, which marked out the west coast of Africa as the place for the colony. You will readily conceive that my first impression was favorable, from the circumstance that a prayer-meeting preceded the discussion. I attended the several meetings and gave all the aid I could."

Of the fifty original signers of the constitution of the society, Samuel J. Mills stands twenty-third on the list. The first president was Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew of George Washington; Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson were among the vice-presidents. A memorial was presented to Congress, and a joint resolution upon the subject was submitted to the Committee of the



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Whole, February 11, 1817, but failed of passage at that session. Congress had, in the meantime, in 1807, passed an act prohibiting and punishing the importation of slaves, but they were under the laws and at the disposal of the several states when captured by United States war vessels, until an act of Congress, in 1819, kept them in the custody of the United States and provided for their return to Africa. Here was the Colonization Society's opportunity.

To bring the society and its work to the attention of prominent men in Congress and elsewhere, Mills proposed the publication of a pamphlet containing the constitution, the memorial to Congress, and other salient facts. The managers fell in with this proposal, and to Mills was assigned the work of assembling the facts and drawing up the appeal. A little later (March, 1817), he addressed a letter to the president of the society, volunteering for the difficult and dangerous duty of visiting Africa as their agent and finding a suitable site on the West Coast for the proposed colony. At that time the society had no funds for such a purpose, so he was engaged for some time in organizing auxiliary societies in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Finally money was borrowed to pay the expenses of the expedition, and the loan was

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paid by funds raised by General Mercer and Rev. (afterwards Bishop) William Meade.

With what feelings he entered upon the work may be gathered from a letter telling his father of the commission entrusted to him by the society: —

I never engaged in an object before, which laid me under so vast a responsibility. I have entered upon it with no ordinary degree of trembling, though I have generally been satisfied with respect to what is my duty. The object is, I think, a noble one; and we have reason to hope it will be approved by God. On his approbation it must rely for success.

You will perceive, dear Sir, how much I need the prayers of pious friends, and of the Church. I hope you will live many years to pray for your affectionate son, and for Zion. And may we and those we love, love Zion and Zion's King; and then we shall be sure to meet again, if not in this world, in a better.

Mills chose his own companion, Ebenezer Burgess, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of Vermont. In his letter to Burgess inviting him to share this service he said: —

My brother, can we engage in a nobler effort? We go to make freemen of slaves. We go to lay the foundations of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently

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believed by many of our best and wisest men, that, if it succeeds, it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and a half of wretched men. It will transfer to Africa the blessing of religion and civilization, and Ethiopia will stretch out her hands unto God. My dear brother, your attention has, in the course of divine Providence, been called to consider the debased and degraded state of the descendants of Africa. You have already made some exertions in their behalf. Is not God calling upon you to do still more?

Such an appeal proved irresistible, and a month later, August 21, Burgess accepted the invitation, and proved a reliable and companionable comrade. Mills was busy all the time accumulating information which should help him. He wrote to Paul Cuffee, who had been invited by some of the Sierra Leone people to plant a colony at Sherbro, and was assured by him that one-half the colored people around Boston would embrace the first opportunity to go out to Africa. In Philadelphia and Baltimore he found the negroes greatly pleased at the measures taken for their relief.

It was expected that the two would sail for England with the new minister to Great Britain in a seventy-four gun vessel, “The Franklin,”

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but they sailed eventually from Philadelphia in the ship "Electra," a merchant vessel, November 16, and as they were about to embark Mills said to one of his friends, "This is the most important enterprise in which I have ever been engaged." Was it with some premonition that he would never return that he wrote his father on the eve of his departure:—

Our prospects are at present fair, but we know not what a day may bring forth. God moves in a mysterious way in bringing about his great and glorious designs. He sometimes puts our faith to a severe test. When his Church is about to make some great effort for the promotion of his glory, he not infrequently removes some of the most prominent and apparently most important aids, lest vain man should glory in himself and not in the Lord. I hope we shall always be prepared to say, the will of the Lord be done. I have been much with strangers, but the Lord has always provided and raised up friends for me, and I doubt not he will continue to do so. My companion and myself engage in this mission in perfect cheerfulness. I hope we feel that unless the Lord is with us all is in vain. If the colonization plan be of God, sooner or later it will prosper; if not approved by him, let it fail.

Whatever we may think now, looking backward, as to the righteousness or expediency of

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the colonization of the black race, we must admire the splendid spirit with which Mills started out to blaze the trail for an enterprise which has enlisted the support and approval of many of the ablest statesmen from Jefferson to Lincoln. Harriet Beecher Stowe calls Liberia “the refuge which the providence of God has provided in Africa,” and she sends one of her ablest characters, George Harris, in “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” there. And one of the most forceful presentations of the cause of African colonization is the letter of Harris setting forth his reasons for going. Daniel Webster said: “It would seem that this [colonization] is the mode — as far as we can judge — that this is the destiny, the rule of things, established by Providence, by which knowledge, letters, and Christianity shall be returned by the descendants of these poor ignorant barbarians, who were brought here as slaves to the country from which they came.”

The voyage across the Atlantic was unusually prosperous until they reached the English Channel. Sunday night, December 6, a severe gale struck the vessel, and it seemed for a time that she would go down with all on board. The captain ordered the masts cut away and the decks cleared. All at once they heard the breakers. They saw the foam dashing desper-

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ately against a ragged ledge of rocks, and towards that ledge the ship was inevitably drifting. The captain said, "We are gone for this world." A boat was launched, quickly overturned and lost, with two of the captain's sons. Death seemed the inevitable destiny of crew and passengers alike. Burgess and Mills were calm and composed. Around them the others crowded as they knelt on the deck and prayed partly to the souls around them and partly to the God above. Presently a strong current carried their ship by the reef into deeper water, and as they passed into safety all exclaimed, "It is the work of God!" The storm abated, and two days later the ship made the harbor of St. Malo, France, in pitiable condition, — masts, sails, shrouds, and anchors all gone.

Mills felt that his life, which had been saved in such a signal manner, should be consecrated anew to God's service. Writing his father of the storm he said: —

The scene is so deeply settled in my soul as not to be eradicated while I live. . . .

"He moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform —

He plants his footsteps on the sea, and rides upon the storm."

Ah, yes; "he rides upon the storm," — he follows with his unerring eye, and sustains with his almighty hand

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the weary and the tempest-tossed. Verily, if the Lord had not been on our side, the proud waves had gone over our souls. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men! Ye that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters, praise ye the Lord. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness! In whatever condition we may be; whether on the land or on the sea — whether among friends or strangers; every moment we experience his preserving care and kindness; — but when he brings us up from among the dead — from the bowels of the ocean, and permits us to labor yet a little longer in promoting the precious kingdom of his dear Son; — how great, how immense are our obligations to live to him alone!

After a week's delay the travelers reached London, where they were received with great cordiality and hearty sympathy. The secretaries of the Church Missionary Society had been previously informed of their coming and their object, and rendered all assistance in their power. They met and consulted with a former governor of Sierra Leone and many other philanthropists. From none did they receive a more unstinted welcome than from William Wilberforce, who did more for the negroes than any other white man, Abraham Lincoln alone excepted. He took these young men under his special guidance, in-

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roducing them to officials of the various societies and of the government. One day they were at the monthly meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Mills modestly told the story of how he had risked his life to carry the Bible across the river to the British soldiers in the hospitals at New Orleans, and how carefully those soldiers had wrapped up the Bibles and carried them away. Then the great-hearted Wilberforce rose and said: "While we have been sitting on cushioned seats talking about the distribution of the Bibles, others have been bearing the burden and heat of the day."

Through the kindness of Wilberforce they met Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the colonies, who gave them letters to the governor and other officers in Sierra Leone. They also had an audience with the Duke of Gloucester, the patron of the African Institution, who showed great interest in this new American society and the mission of Mills and Burgess. In fact, every one thought well of their project and seemed anxious to assist them. As Dr. Spring says: "No narrow views, no political prejudices, no supreme regard to national or personal aggrandizement, prevented the friends of humanity in England from listening to the nature of the embassy, interposing their influence in favor of



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this benevolent object and affording the agents every facility and all reasonable assistance in the prosecution of their purpose.”

The young men were anxious to proceed, and they left the shores of England in the good ship “Mary,” February 2, 1818, and came to anchor in the river Gambia, March 13. During the voyage the missionaries were reading all the books on Africa at their command, and studying the people, the climate, the soil, and the products.

Mills sent an account of the voyage to his sister in the last letter he ever wrote. In this letter he reveals, as nowhere else, just what he hopes from the expedition and the work of the Colonization Society. He says that he does not expect that any considerable portion of the million and a half negroes will be particularly benefited at the present time, “But I consider a movement,” he says, “or even the disposition to agitate the subject, as a ray of light breaking through a dark cloud, and as the precursor of another and another. I felt it my duty, therefore, to give the design all the aid I could.” The sending of agents to Africa would keep the subject alive in the public mind at least. If no asylum was found for the blacks abroad, the agitation might help their condition at home. “If by pursuing the object now in view a few

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free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in suitable time go out from the settlement and form others and prove the occasion of great good."

So much for the object of this journey. As to himself, he felt that he could trust himself in God's hands when he was doing God's work. The two ought to have been in Africa several months sooner, and they realized that they were risking their lives in the unhealthy climate. "But," wrote Mills, "we have used our best efforts, both before and since our leaving the United States, to arrive on the coast at the earliest period possible. Whether I am to live or to die while engaged in this mission, God only knows: but one thing we know, and in this we will rejoice, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God. The time will come, when the barbarous tribes of Africa shall worship Jesus as King in Zion. The time will come, when her children, now under oppression and in bondage, shall become the freemen of the Lord. — And should I die in Africa, and not again visit the land of my nativity, still it would be great con-

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solation to my dear friends, might they hope, as did Mr. Newell, in another case, ‘that my bones had taken possession of the promised land, and would rest in the glorious hope of the final and universal triumph of Jesus over the god of this world.’ ”

With this spirit Samuel J. Mills paid part of the “price of Africa.”



# XI

## THE DARK CONTINENT

“GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN”

*When the news of his son's death was received, two brother ministers went to Torrington on a visit of condolence to Father Mills. Scarcely had they begun their expressions of sympathy before the old man cut them short, exclaiming, "Oh, my mercies! Oh, my mercies! to have such a son to be a missionary."*

A. C. THOMPSON.

*It also belongs to us to mention respectfully Rev. Samuel F. Mills, who died last year in the employment of the Colonization Society. His constitution, early impaired, sunk at length under the pressure of benevolent, persevering, indefatigable exertion. He found a grave in the ocean, leaving his worthy and reverend father and a bereaved community to mourn his loss. We knew not his worth till he left us. He stole silently through this world and kept himself unseen while he waked the energies of others, condensed the views of the community, and concentrated the exertions of pious charity till, early ripe for heaven, he rested from his labors and his works do follow him.*

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT, 1819.

## XI

### THE DARK CONTINENT

“**A**T 4 P.M. we exulted at the sight of Africa ” is the entry in Mills’ journal dated March 12, 1818. Who can imagine the feelings summed up in those few words! The dream of his life had become real, and his eyes beheld the Dark Continent. On the morrow his feet first touched African soil at St. Mary’s, on the Gambia River. Three days later, leaving the “Mary” to unload, they hastened on to Sierra Leone in the brig “Success.” On the heights of Leicester Mountain the church breaks into full view, and brings to them this message: “The altars on these mountains, which the natives had dedicated to devils, are falling before the temples of the living God, like the image of Dagon before the Ark. The time is coming when the dwellers in these vales and on these mountains will sing hosannas to the Son of David. Distant tribes will learn their song. ‘Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God and worship.’ ”

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On landing they found Governor McCarthy absent, but delivered their letters from Lord Bathurst to the commandant, Fitzgerald, who assured them that it would be a pleasure to take them to the different settlements, show them the schools, and do everything in his power to assist them.

Sierra Leone was England's experiment of the colonization of the negro in Africa. In 1787 the first settlement had been made, and four years later the negroes were brought here from Nova Scotia, and in 1805 the Maroons from Jamaica. After 1807, when the slave-trade was abolished, those liberated from captured slave-ships were brought here. From all these sources the population at this time was about twelve thousand colored people and fifty Europeans. In 1808 the colony was transferred from the Sierra Leone Company to the British government. Schools and churches had been planted, five towns had grown up, trade was established, and agriculture had been begun. Here, as nowhere else, could conditions instead of theories of colonization be studied. Mills and Burgess found one-sixth of the entire population in schools, and these schools would in their judgment do no dishonor to an American or English village. The Sabbath was observed



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by all except some Europeans and Kroomen. Hundreds of acres had been cleared, and the "wilderness buds and blossoms like the rose." They were altogether encouraged by what had been accomplished.

The leading men in Sierra Leone thought favorably of an American colony, but they were not altogether sure that it would be well to locate near the English colony—it might interfere with their trade. The missionaries talked the matter over with the principal members of the Friendly Society formed by the colonists at the suggestion of Paul Cuffee. Their advice was not to try to get possession of too large a piece of land at once, lest the natives become suspicious. They said also that some of the kings were suspicious lest those whom they had sold to slave-traders might return and revenge themselves. A week later, March 30, Mills and Burgess started down the coast in a fifteen-ton schooner and a native crew, to spy out the land. Kizell and Martin of the Friendly Society went with them as interpreters and advisers.

They sailed south along the coast. The first stop was the Banana Islands, where they called on the head man, Thomas Caulker, who had influence with the kings in Sherbro. When they

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explained to him the object of their visit, he approved of it heartily, saying that their plans were like those of Paul Cuffee, whom he had known. He thought it would be a good thing for the country to place a colony at Sherbro. He said a settlement might be formed on the Camaranca River, which he claimed, but Sierra Leone claimed the north bank, and it might therefore lead to complications. Consequently, he advised a colony further south. He entertained the Americans royally, and sent with them his son and nephew to further their object at Sherbro.

At the Plantains they found another nephew of Caulker's, who had been educated in England. He was intelligent and sympathetic, yet rather suspicious of the encroachments of Sierra Leone, now become powerful, and extending her boundaries. He said there would be less objection to an American colony if the negroes should govern themselves. The natives were afraid the white men would take their country from them, but they could trust their colored brethren. Mills assured him that if white men were appointed as governors it would only be to give stability and security, and to fit the blacks for self-government. This reassured Caulker, and he promised cooperation.

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Sherbro they found to be an island twenty-two miles long by twelve broad. The land, which is flat and sandy, lies above the sea twenty feet, and is covered with a luxuriant growth of vegetation. Only one acre in fifty they found under cultivation. Here began difficult work with the African chiefs, who had been contaminated by contact with the slave-trade. At Bendon they held a palaver with Kings Somano and Safah, the latter dressed in a superb three-cornered hat, a silver-laced coat, a mantle which reached the ground, blue bafta trousers, the worse for wear, but barefooted. As a preliminary to the palaver, their present to the chiefs was brought in, — a piece of bafta, a keg of powder, a few jars of tobacco, and a small jar of rum. Mills says apologetically: "The last article Mr. K. was requested to obtain for us, as we were told that they would in no case hold a palaver without it; and we have reason to believe our information to be correct. These people are only children of a large growth, and we hope, by temporary conformity, gradually to wean them from their vicious customs." But there were two kings, and they insisted on two bottles; not till they were forthcoming did the palaver go on. Kizell was chief spokesman and told them that the white men were from

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Washington, the capital of the United States in America; that there wise and good men had agreed to help the black people who wished to come to their own country, and that if they would sell or give tracts of their unimproved land, the black people who settled them would develop the land by the best industrial and agricultural methods, and would open up trade with them. This and much more was said on both sides, the white men being greatly helped by Kizell in handling the crafty natives. When the chiefs returned the visit aboard ship they complained that the missionaries did not provide the materials for an uproarious drunk as the traders did. Here was a practical demonstration of what so-called civilization was doing without Christianity. But this was only the beginning of palavering. King Sherbro, the head man of the island, and his son Couber, must be seen, and a conference arranged. There was the same grotesque mingling of cheap European splendor and African barbarity, the inevitable presents, and the almost endless talking around the subject for hours without the African coming to the point. The king felt affronted because he had not been visited first. A tedious wait ensued while the other chiefs, Safah and Somano, were summoned. Through

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it all the white men showed consummate tact and tireless patience. In spite of the fact that he came as simply the agent of the Colonization Society, the missionary spirit in Mills would assert itself. On Sunday he went to the king's thatched cottage and told him it was the day on which in Christian countries God's book was read before the people. The king answered that all the people would be glad to hear God's book; it was the best book. Then Mills began to tell the way of salvation by Jesus Christ. He told of the precious comfort which came from the love of God and obedience to his commands. He pictured, too, the future judgment, when all must appear before God and give an account of the deeds done in the body; and then told of the promise of the resurrection. He urged the king to leave off worshiping the devils and worship the one true God. While he sketched the blessings of Christianity as seen in Europe and America, he cautioned him that not all who came from those countries were good men. The young preacher glowed as he preached the good tidings to the stolid African, who listened with fixed countenance and serious attention. Mills did not fail to show the advantages that the proposed colony would bring forth both as to church and schools, and this had much weight.

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In the meantime they heard that seven or eight vessels were fifty miles down the coast waiting for cargoes of slaves, one of them flying the stars and stripes and mounting twenty guns, owned by an American citizen. The forces of evil were not to yield Africa to the forces of righteousness without a struggle.

More presents and more waiting led Mills to write in his journal: "Patience may almost have her perfect work on the dispositions and hearts of those who wait on men so slothful in business and so eager to receive the tributes of strangers." But even palavers with African chieftains come to an end at last, and a partial promise of land was made, provided the assent of the different head men was secured.

The travelers met with a better reception when they crossed over to the mainland. They explored the Boom, Deong, Bagroo, and Banga rivers, and along all these rivers they had land offered them. The Bagroo country seemed the most attractive for the beginning of the colony. There was much unoccupied land, which could be cleared for six dollars an acre; there was good water, and broken, rolling country. The climate seemed as temperate and healthy as any part of the coast near the equator. Wars, the slave-trade, and trial for witchcraft, had de-

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creased the population. They passed places with hardly a hut standing, where formerly there were large towns. Here, indeed, seemed a providential opening for a colony. The land seemed suited to rice, cassada, sweet potatoes, and Indian corn. All sorts of tropical fruits grew in abundance. In truth, "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile."

They studied the religion of the natives, and found that they believed in a supreme God, great and good, but indifferent to man's needs. The chief business of their religion was to secure the favor and avert the displeasure of certain inferior malevolent spirits, who brought all sorts of disasters upon them. They had great confidence in amulets and charms, and strewed fruits about their villages, and put mats in the paths to propitiate these spirits. They had sacred trees and places, and sometimes prayed on the graves of their ancestors. They were greatly surprised at the devotions of Mills and Burgess, and one said he never knew before that white men prayed.

For five weeks these two men kept hard at work, exploring, gathering all sorts of information, and palavering with tricky natives. All this had to be done under a tropical sun and with few advantages of travel. It was little

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wonder, then, that Burgess came down with fever. Mills was anxious to return to Sierra Leone at once, that he might receive proper medical attention, but Burgess insisted he could recover where he was, and they must finish their work. They reached Sierra Leone May 7, and found lodgings with a Wesleyan Methodist missionary. Two weeks more were consumed in a further study of the colonization problem as it was being solved there. Mills sums up the results of his interviews with Governor McCarthy as to an American colony as follows: —

That a private society can hardly be expected to have adequate funds to found and support a colony without the aid of the government; that, in the first instance, white men of intelligence and good character should occupy some of the principal offices; that the government should be mild and energetic; that forts would be necessary; that one hundred men, with arms, and some knowledge of discipline, could defend themselves from the natives; that the occasional visits of an armed vessel, engaged in detecting slave-traders, would give entire security; that the neutrality of the colony could be easily ensured by an application to the European governments; that the first colonists should be men of sober and industrious habits, who will devote themselves to agriculture or to some of the useful mechanic arts; that one year's provisions, or the



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means of purchasing them, would be necessary to the colonists; that, if expedient, the limits of this colony [Sierra Leone] might be enlarged to accommodate five or ten thousand emigrants from America; that it was particularly proper for the American government to commission an armed ship to this coast, to capture slave-trading vessels, as two-thirds of them are, or have been, American; that the free people of color would be better situated in Africa than they are, or can soon expect to be, in America. I am every day more convinced of the practicability and expediency of establishing American colonies on this coast.

The last entry in the journal reads as follows: —

Brig Success, Friday, 22d May, 1818.

We have taken an affectionate leave of the clergymen, the civil officers, and the colonists, of Sierra Leone. We are embarked for the United States, by way of England, and the continent of Africa recedes from our view.

This is not the place nor is it the province of the writer to trace the subsequent history of the Colonization Society. The report of Mills and Burgess established the fact that suitable territory might be procured and a colony planted. The first colony was landed at Sherbro, April, 1822, and twenty-five years later, in July, 1847, Liberia became an independent nation, with a

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government patterned after that of the United States. Liberia has not been unmindful of the debt she owes to these pioneers, but as a tribute to their memory has united their names in the name of one of the principal cities, — Millsburg.

It was a beautiful evening when the sun and the African shores faded together from the sight of the young men standing on the quarter deck of the brig "Success." The dangers and the arduous labor of their expedition were over, and now, as they congratulated each other, their thoughts turned homeward. There seemed fair prospect that they should soon see the faces of their loved ones once more. With the setting of the sun they talked of these things and thanked God.

They had a good, roomy ship, and ample stores of fresh provisions. The sea air was delightfully refreshing after the fever-laden air of the West Coast rivers, and soon they were getting into the latitudes more bracing. About two weeks after they sailed Mills began to show symptoms of fever, and took some simple medicines, but the relief was only temporary. There was a deep-seated trouble. Before he left home he bore evidences of consumption, and had a most distressing cough, which was greatly aggravated by the moist climate of England. On the ocean,



MILLS MONUMENT AT TORRINGFORD



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and in Africa, he seemed to be relieved, and accomplished an immense amount of work. The disease worked rapidly at the last, and it soon became evident to his fellow passengers that his end was near. A most distressing and long-continued hiccough added to his suffering. He was very appreciative of the tender nursing and ministrations of his comrade. He faced death as he had faced life, — with a splendid trust in God.

Monday afternoon, June 15, 1818, without a groan or murmur, he gently closed his hands on his breast as if in prayer, his face calm and peaceful, and entered into rest. That night, at sunset, his body was committed to the ocean, whose waves have borne his influence to the “remotest corner of this ruined world.” Thirty-five years he had lived, and now at an age when most men are beginning their careers, his short life was closed. Thirty-five years, but filled to the brim with usefulness then, and with a mighty influence for good for all time and in every quarter of the world.

“We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.

We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives

Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

Life is but a means to an end — that end

Beginning, mean, and end to all things — God.”



## XII

### THE MAN AND HIS INFLUENCE

*May I not scorn the humble, lowly deed,  
The common thing,  
Nor hate nor harm the meanest slave, whose face  
Veils thine, my King !  
I would be soul-poised, great in gentleness,  
Gentle in power,  
Rich in self-giving, pouring life and love  
Into each hour.  
Teach me to be a steward of all things,  
Owner of none ;  
Glad to give up my will, since thine, my God,  
Shall still be done.*

HENRY HALLAM TWEEDY.

*Give thanks for heroes that have stirred  
Earth with the wonder of a word.  
But all thanksgiving for the breed  
Who have bent destiny with deed —  
Souls of the high, heroic birth,  
Souls sent to poise the shaken Earth,  
And then called back to God again  
To make Heaven possible for men.*

EDWIN MARKHAM.



## XII

### THE MAN AND HIS INFLUENCE

**T**HERE are two ways in which a man may influence the world, — by what he is and by what he does; by his character and by his career. Some men, of whom David Brainerd is a good example, owe their power to the influence of their characters on other lives. David Brainerd accomplished little himself; he set in motion no great movement, but his brief life has been ever since a mighty incentive to sacrifice and service. Other men have achieved much by the forces they have set in motion, the reforms they have organized, and have had comparatively little personal influence. Some few men have exerted a decided influence by both character and career. Such a man was Samuel J. Mills.

This story of his short life, ever full to the brim with work, has utterly failed if the reader has not been impressed by what Mills did, both for his own time and for all time, in the twelve

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years reaching from the haystack to that grave in the North Atlantic. Beneath the title of his paper, *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison emblazoned these words: "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind." These words might have been taken as the motto of Mills' life. Like John Wesley, he called the whole world his parish; his sympathy was as broad as humanity, and as deep as man's need; to all classes and conditions of men he ministered. On his western journey he investigated thoroughly the lot of the red man, and begged the missionary societies to send the Bible, the schoolhouse, and the church to counteract the effect of bad whisky and worse white men upon "these rude sons of nature." As he saw the condition of the slaves, his heart ached for "his poor African brethren," and he literally laid down his life in opening what he hoped might be the door of opportunity to the black man. He sympathized with the pioneer who made his home the advance-guard of civilization in the new country, and plead as a patriot with men and missionary societies to seize the opportunity and make all this vast expanse of country Christian. He heard the Macedonian cry from Asia and Africa, and the islands of the sea. He plead with God for the perishing multitude; he cried

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to his fellow men, "Let us go over and help them!" "We can do it if we will."

With all the courage and absolute self-forgetfulness of a Xavier, no peril daunted him if he might preach Christ. Though he had the domestic instinct, and looked at home and family as the "one happiness that had survived the fall," he could stoutly abjure the "vision of fair women" with all the austerity of a Loyola, if thereby he could be a better missionary of the cross. Like Robert Louis Stevenson, he could fight the losing battle continually against ill health. With a weak stomach he could endure the coarse, rough fare of the frontier, and could start for fever-laden Africa with "a cough and a stricture on his lungs." He might fall, but he would never falter. Like the Old Guard at Waterloo, he never surrendered; he died. To-day St. Louis and New Orleans feel the result of his home missionary statesmanship. If the orchards of the Mississippi and the Ohio valleys groan under the weight of their fruit because early in the nineteenth century Johnny Appleseed scattered the seed of apple, pear, cherry, plum, and peach throughout that region, those same valleys owe much of their rich harvest of schools and churches, morals and religion, to the man who sowed "the seed which is

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the word of God." Wheresoever those ocean waves reach that are moaning out a ceaseless requiem for him who lies buried beneath their surface, there has his influence been felt, even to the "remotest corner of this ruined world." But the man was greater than anything he did; the character was grander than the career; what he was speaks even louder than what he did.

No picture or adequate description of his personal appearance has been preserved. He was not impressive in his bodily presence. He was slow in conversation, serious in aspect, and sallow in complexion. His modesty, and the disease which made inroads upon his vitality, did not give to his face the intense energy and indomitable will which lay concealed in his frail body. "While his figure was manly, his apparel studiously neat, and his manners rather graceful, his voice was not clear, nor his eye brilliant, nor his language fluent." He had not great ability as a scholar either in mathematics or classics; he was neither eloquent as a speaker nor powerful as a writer. Not aided by his appearance or accomplishments, wherein lay the secret of his power?

In the first place, he was a man of God. God was intensely real to him. He did not simply "practise the presence of God"; in him he lived

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and moved and had his being. It was this that gave him the sublime faith that from the haystack onward swept away all objections and obstacles to foreign missions. When a church was hesitating about letting a well-beloved pastor go, thinking they could not get along without him, Mills wrote to a friend: "It would seem as though his parishioners were afraid to trust themselves with the Almighty. I think when a people depend so much upon one arm of flesh, it is high time it was broken off." The man that wrote these words never hesitated to trust himself with the Almighty.

Like every true man of God, he was a man of prayer. His plans were all prayed out. Upon his knees he fought out the battles of his life. To his Father he went with all his doubts and difficulties. It was his custom to go alone or with a comrade for long walks in the woods round about Williams and Andover, to pray and meditate. Much of the time in the student meetings was taken with prayer. Contrary to the usual custom, these prayers were short. But they were deeply reverent and filled with impassioned utterance. He was never selfish in his prayer; he seldom prayed aloud for himself, but ardently for others. One peculiar form he often used was, "We praise thee that we belong to

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a race of beings who were made by Jesus Christ, and who have been redeemed by his blood.”

Not only did he have his usual devotional periods every day, but when some special burden rested on him, or when some new plan was working out, or when the way was dark, he would also set apart a day of fasting and prayer, and wrestle with the Almighty, until he felt the assurance that his prayer was heard. While he was waiting at Sierra Leone for a vessel in which to leave Africa, he made his home with Rev. Samuel Brown, a Methodist missionary. Both Burgess and Brown were delighted when it came Mills' turn to lead the devotional services. When he prayed God seemed peculiarly near, and he not only drew strength for himself, but he bore his comrades on the wings of his petitions very near to the Father. In nothing else did the deep spiritual life of the man show itself so much as in his prayers.

If he prayed as though all depended on God, he worked as though everything depended on his own labors. He not only expected great things from God, he attempted great things for God. His life story is a record of tireless energy, unbounded enthusiasm, tempered with uncommon discretion. He had the splendid combination of which President Roosevelt speaks, — the

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striving after an ideal which makes men reformers, and striving through practical methods which makes them efficient.

With all the force and energy which he displayed, he was singularly modest. He never sought great things for himself. The real reason for the secrecy of the Brethren was his fear lest the church and people at large would think it was the notion of sophomoric, presuming, self-important students. The last thing Mills was seeking was notoriety. So, too, at Andover, he exemplified his characteristic fervor, humility, and modesty. If Judson wished to take the lead and have his way in a movement which another had made possible, Mills showed not a sign of jealousy. He yielded willingly his personal preferences. Perhaps no single sacrifice cost him so much as the decision that instead of going to the front with the first detachment sent to India, he was to be the home guard, and look after the interest of India here in America. But he did it cheerfully and without one word of complaint. Together with this modesty, or a part of it, was his ability to use other men's talents in the work at hand. He had what has been called in McKinley the sixth sense of knowing men and hiding himself. In his home missionary journeys he always enlisted

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the interest of the governors of the states and territories, the judges of the higher courts, and soldiers, like Jackson. He doubted his own literary ability. His first rough draft of the constitution of the Brethren seemed to him rude and undigested, and Richards and Fisk were enlisted to draw up the final copy. He persuaded a talented friend to write articles for the periodicals, urging the organization of the American Bible Society. He was most successful in his appeal for young men to go out into the great West as missionaries. But he was equally successful in enlisting such men as Dr. Spring, President Griffin, Dr. Worcester, and other great leaders in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in behalf of the causes which he advocated. He wrote letters, he sought personal interviews, and left nothing undone that he might interest these men, eloquent of voice and mighty with the pen, in behalf of the great needs of both home and foreign lands. A characteristic story is told by Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin, with whom Mills sought to study theology at Newark. Dr. Griffin says:—

I had always refused the application of young men to study divinity with me, but for the love I bore Mills, I agreed to criticise his sermons at stated times. After the exercise he would commonly sit and draw letters very moderately and cautiously out of his pocket



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and read passages to me on some benevolent project. At length I perceived that studying divinity with me had been quite a secondary object; that his chief object was to get me engaged to execute his plans. As soon as I discovered that, I told him to bring out his letters and all his plans without reserve.

Dr. Griffin came to Williams as president in the darkest days of the history of the college. With him, and largely through his efforts, came the dawn of a new era of activity and growth. He it was who saved the college and made possible its future. We have it on no less authority than that of Mark Hopkins, that "his [Griffin's] interest in the college and his willingness to come [as president] arose largely from a former acquaintance with Samuel J. Mills and his knowledge of the college as the birthplace of American Foreign Missions."

While Mills was a man of strong convictions, he was exceedingly tolerant of other men's beliefs. He seems strangely in advance of his times in his efforts to unite all denominations in all sorts of missionary work. He felt that churches needed to emphasize more the things upon which they agreed rather than those on which they differed. What he aimed at was not so much unity of belief as community of service. This was shown in his efforts to organize the Ameri-

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can Bible Society. He felt the work was too great and too important for any one denomination, and that if all denominations united in this work it would command universal sympathy and support. The United Foreign Missionary Society was another instance of his great desire to secure the cooperation of the various denominations upon foreign mission fields. His efforts were appreciated by all branches of the Christian Church. Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians admired the man and sympathized with his plans and purposes for the extension of the kingdom of God, and they all, at some time or other, invited him into their pulpits. He felt that the salvation of the heathen was of such great importance that all Christians ought to subordinate their differences as to creed and ritual, and unite their efforts and their prayers in one mighty united movement for the redemption of God's world. He could not understand how Christian men and Christian churches could let bigotry, prejudice, and jealousy stand in the way, when Christ's order was explicit, "Go ye into all the world." His heart was big enough not only to take in the heathen, but also all Christendom. As Professor Burgess says: "He silently communed with the Baptists, prayed with the Methodists, loved the Moravians, and praised

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the Friends. He could preach to a little group of slaves and commend their rude psalmody, or he could suffer himself to be invested with a gown, as a military chaplain, or read the church prayers at a pompous funeral. When Judson and Rice became Baptists he rejoiced that, like the dissension between Paul and Barnabas, it was the means of establishing two missions instead of one." He was exceedingly charitable not only to other men's beliefs, but also to their feelings. He could almost always find a good word to say of the people he had met. While he could read character readily, he also had great penetration, and went deep beneath the surface, and saw possibilities overlooked by the casual observer. While tremendously in earnest, he never indulged in invectives and denunciation. There was nothing destructive in his methods or preaching, but rather constructive. This it was that made it possible for him to be on such friendly terms with the Roman Catholic clergy, often securing their cooperation, as in New Orleans.

The only person with whom he was severe was himself. He had almost morbid ideas as to his own unworthiness, and bemoaned the imperfect evidences which he had in his own personal experiences. Even in the latter part

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of his life he said to an intimate friend, "I many times fear that I shall yet be dashed in pieces as a vessel in which the Master has no pleasure." There was nothing affected about his self-depreciation. To him the need was terribly real. So he never spared himself. Danger or disease never daunted him. What was comfort, or ease, or life even, in comparison with God's work or God's cause? Like Jacob Riis, he never was afraid of losing God's fight. To the winning of that fight he devoted his substance as well as himself. The farm which his maternal grandfather left him was turned into money, that it might, like himself, go about doing good. He spent all, and was spent in what he believed was God's service. In fact, those who knew him best say that he is to be estimated not as a student, not as a preacher, not even as a missionary, but as a philanthropist — a philanthropist whose humanitarianism was not of the soft, sentimental kind that ignores sins, but of the kind that believes in the reality of sin, yet believes intensely in the God who loves the sinner, and so has some of God's passionate love for humanity.

Such a life must of necessity have a mighty influence. Nowhere was this influence more evident than upon the young men who followed in

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his footsteps at Andover and Williams. When Leonard Bacon entered Andover in 1821, he found the very atmosphere fragrant with the memory of the devoted life of Mills. Mills' "Memoirs," just published, was read by every student with intense interest, especially since, on account of the antislavery agitation of that time, the colonization idea was much discussed. Bacon, who already gave promise of the great power that he was soon to show, at his graduation in 1824 was chosen to deliver the valedictory address. In that address he paid the following tribute to Mills, which is quoted to show the influence which his character and career already had on the young men of that time: —

A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend, "My brother, you and I are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world." Not many years after, a ship returning from a distant quarter of the globe paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him. And they consigned the body to the ocean. It was the body of the man who, in the ardor of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth, but he had redeemed his pledge, and at this hour his influence

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is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country. This man was Samuel John Mills, and all that knew his history will say that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations nor the result of his efforts. He traversed our land like a ministering spirit, silently and yet effectually, from the hill country of the Pilgrims to the valley of the Missouri. He wandered on his errands of benevolence from village to village and from city to city, pleading now with the patriot for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the West, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee [Hawaii], and died in the service of Africa. He went to heaven in his youth, but his works do follow him, like a long train of glory that still widens and brightens, and will widen and brighten forever. Who can measure the influence of one such minister of the gospel?

Mark Hopkins, at the semi-centennial of Williams College in 1843, called it "The grand distinction of the college that on this spot American missions had their origin." Much of Dr. Hopkins' interest in and splendid service for foreign missions might be directly traced to this same source. "Wherever, therefore," continued Dr. Hopkins, "the history of American missions



GREYLOCK — A WILLIAMS SHRINE





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shall be known, this spot and this college must be looked to with interest; and we do not think that it was the design of God that the moral effects of the associations connected with it should be lost. Here may the words of Mills, 'Though you and I are very little beings, we must not rest satisfied until our influence is felt to the remotest corner of this ruined world,' always pervade the moral atmosphere. We would echo those words. We would make them the motto of those who come here."

In 1897, the World's Student Christian Federation, uniting all the student movements of the world, held its second meeting at Williamstown. Men were gathered from thirteen nations and five continents. One evening all these delegates gathered around the monument which marks the spot where the haystack stood. The story of that first meeting on this spot was graphically told — how Mills had urged the carrying of the gospel to the heathen, and in reply to obstacles suggested had said, "We can do it if we will." The progress from that small beginning was traced, and how it had made the present meeting a possibility. Then all the delegates present made "the mountains" of which every Williams man loves to sing, echo and reecho with "We can do it if we will." There the Germans and the French, for-

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getting Sedan and Alsace and Lorraine, sang out each in the language of his fatherland, "We can do it if we will." Men from Holland and India, men from South Africa and China, men from Switzerland and Japan, each in his native language rang out the sentiment which the same place had heard ninety-one years before. The German students sang "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," and as the strangely diverse but deeply united company marched away singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers," one could not but feel that though the body of the soldier who first uttered that battle-cry lay buried in a nameless grave in a trackless ocean, his soul was marching on.

APPENDIX A  
THE HAYSTACK MONUMENT



## APPENDIX A

### THE HAYSTACK MONUMENT

FOR thirty years or more after Mills' death the exact location of the haystack was unknown. Inquiry had often been made by strangers for the spot. President Griffin, to whom was largely due the continued interest in Mills and the men and the scenes of the haystack, made strenuous efforts to locate the place; but in vain. In 1852 a Baptist layman spending the night in Williamstown expressed surprise and regret that the place was not marked. After leaving, he sent back a gold dollar as the nucleus of a fund for a memorial. He wrote: "If it does no more than purchase a cedar stake to mark the spot, it will not be in vain; for long ere that will have time to moulder, wealthy ones will mark with marble the place where American missions had their birth." His word was prophetic. In the summer of 1854, Hon. Byram Green of Sodus, New York, was in Williamstown. It was discovered that he was at that prayer-meeting and could locate the spot, which he did by putting in a stake with his own hand. He was aided in locating the place by the existence of a maple grove, still standing, in which they were accustomed to meet. In August, 1854, he wrote out for Professor Albert Hopkins all that he

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could remember about the meeting itself. This letter is the source of all that is known about the meeting. At commencement, in 1854, the alumni of the college voted to purchase the grounds surrounding the spot, including the maple grove. The plot purchased consisted of ten acres, and the purchase price was \$2500, one-tenth of which was pledged by undergraduates. In the printed circular appealing for funds, President Hopkins asked, "Shall, then, this ground be purchased? We think the great heart of the Christian public of all denominations will say, Yes! Shall patriotism and genius have their monuments and consecrated grounds, and shall not religion? Shall a love wider than that of patriotism, a consecration nobler than genius, have no memorial?" The funds were pledged and the land purchased. In August, 1855, the alumni held a meeting in "Mission Park," as it was now called, and voted to hold a missionary jubilee at the next commencement, that being the fiftieth anniversary of the prayer-meeting.

The day set for the exercises was August 5, 1856. Arrangements had been made to have the services in the grove, where seats had been provided. A bungalow had been prepared for the missionaries, of whom there were many present, and a haystack had been prepared in the Park. But a severe storm, forcibly reminding those present of the storm which drove Mills and his associates to the haystack, compelled the audience to take shelter in the Congregational church, where the exercises were held. Hon. David Dudley Field presided for the six hours during which the exercises lasted. The same hymn was sung that

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closed the meeting under the haystack,—“Let all the heathen writers join.” The Scripture read was Psalm 67, from which the sermon was preached when the first missionaries of the American Board were ordained.

Dr. Field closed his address with these words of dedication:—

“We dedicate this Park to the memory of the Founders of American missions and to the missionary cause and spirit. We hope that in all future time the students of this college will come here for exercise and meditation; that the officers of the college will seek here refreshment from their anxieties and toils; we hope that the young missionary, about to depart with a brave heart upon his glorious errand, will walk upon this ground to strengthen himself with the spirit of the place; and that the returned missionary, wearied with labor, exposure and privation, will find here rest and consolation for the body and the spirit. May this grove be more sacred, if less famous, than the Academia of Plato; may its trees flourish like the cedars of Lebanon, and its turf ever be green as the pastures ‘beside the still waters.’”

The principal address was made by Professor Albert Hopkins, the man who has done more for the religious life of Williams than any other professor connected with it, not even excepting his better known brother. Professor Hopkins had four main divisions of his theme: (1) The Times of the Haystack, (2) The Men of the Stack, (3) The Relation of Those Times and Men to the Problem of the Age, (4) The Position in which We stand and Our Duties with Reference to

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the Same Problem. In speaking of the "Men of the Haystack" he said:—

"It is not probable that these men have been over-estimated. We cannot think too highly of a really good man. But these were not only good men; they possessed also certain qualities which fitted them to act in a very critical and important juncture. In them were combined certain high virtues which rarely co-exist. They were remarkable for their zeal, and not less remarkable for their prudence. With great enthusiasm they united sound judgment. As is usual with youthful minds, hope was strongly developed; but it was balanced by caution. With native impulses prompting them to look for immediate results, they had the grace of patient waiting. Their powers of theorizing and planning were of a very high order; particularly was this true of Mills, whose mind was evidently highly constructive. The men of the haystack were remarkable for the comprehension and breadth of their views, and at the same time they were men of detail. . . . They held, in its broadest sense, the great doctrine of the brotherhood of man. They had enlarged views of the capabilities of the gospel. . . . They were men of faith. Their convictions were strong, not only in reference to the capabilities of Christianity, but in reference to its actual triumphs. The few rays which then gilded the distant summits, were to them ample pledges of day. . . . The men of the haystack taught a dull, material age, the value of ideas; that an age is glorious, not in proportion to its material wealth, but in proportion as it finds its life in thought and principles; in proportion



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as it is swayed by them and is the exponent of them."

Mark Hopkins, president of the college, in expressing thanks for the gifts that made the memorial possible, said, "As an investment for education, it will be worth more than it has cost; as an outpouring of affectionate regard for the missionary work, as the solitary public memorial on the face of the earth in honor of the highest form of self-sacrifice and heroic effort, its value and its power cannot be estimated."

There were many other speakers, among them Rev. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the American Board; Henry Hills, for thirty-two years treasurer of the same society (whom Mills had tried to induce to go out as missionary); Rev. Miron Winslow of Ceylon, who was personally acquainted with Mills and Richards; Rev. Gordon Hall, namesake and son of one of the Brethren; and Rev. Hiram Bingham, one of the first missionaries to Hawaii. It was far from being a denominational affair; representative Presbyterians, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, and Episcopalians, as well as Congregationalists, had prominent parts in the program.

David Scudder, a student at Andover Seminary, read part of a manuscript letter, in the possession of the Brethren, from Mills to Gordon Hall. He also brought from Andover the constitution of the Brethren. "This document, written in cipher, was handed by the president of the day to Dr. Cox, but neither he nor any of the Daniels on the stage were able to decipher it."

A few weeks later (August 31), there came to the

## THE HAYSTACK MONUMENT

college from Rev. Samuel C. Damon of Honolulu, who married Mills' niece, two of Mills' father's manuscript sermons, a letter from Samuel J. Mills, and the pocket-compass which he carried with him in his missionary journeys.

As the meeting closed a notice was given that there would be a missionary prayer-meeting on the morning of commencement day, in August, 1857, at sunrise. It was intended that this should be the first of a series to be held annually at that place. The expectation has been fulfilled, and ever since, one of the noteworthy features of each Williams College commencement has been the prayer-meeting in Mission Park.

Ten years later Harvey Rice, a classmate of Mark Hopkins, became interested in placing a monument in Mission Park to mark the exact site of the haystack. His first proposition was to put a veritable haystack, in size and form, built of gray sandstone. To this mere reproduction in sandstone Mark Hopkins objected as being uncouth. Mr. Rice then hit upon the plan afterwards adopted, "more strictly emblematical, combining the historical and practical." At first it was the donor's plan to give fifty dollars, allowing others to complete the subscription. When the plan was accepted, he decided to assume the entire expense himself, with the exception of five dollars contributed by the Juvenile Missionary Society of Williamstown.

The following is a description of the monument as given by Harvey Rice:—

As a specimen of fine material and artistic sculpture, it is strictly a Berkshire production, composed of Berkshire marble quarried at Alford and wrought in the shops of "the Berkshire Marble

## THE HAYSTACK MONUMENT

Company." Its entire height is twelve feet; its shaft, cap, and base square; its surface polished; its color a silver blue. It is surmounted by a globe, three feet in diameter, traced in map lines. On its eastern face immediately below the globe are inscribed these words, "The Field is the World." Then follows a similitude of a haystack, sculptured in bold relief and encircled with the words, "The Birthplace of American Foreign Missions." And beneath this appear the names of five young men who held the prayer-meeting under the shelter of the haystack, — Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green.

"For once in the history of the world a prayer-meeting is commemorated by a monument," said President Hopkins as he opened the dedicatory services, July 28, 1867. It was one of those rarely beautiful summer afternoons for which Williamstown is famous. The heat was tempered by a breeze, "the scattered clouds casting beautiful shadows upon the hillsides. The encircling mountains reposed beneath the alternating light and shadow in surpassing grandeur and beauty." Rich and clear sounded the voices of the students as the Mills Theological Society, the successors of the Brethren, sang "Ye Christian Herald, Go Proclaim." Then the audience was led in prayer by a Williams man of the past, Rev. Dorus Clarke of the class of 1817, and a friend of one who was at the haystack meeting. Mark Hopkins, then in the zenith of his power, made a short address, which, though brief, was worthy the time and the man. Harvey Rice, William E. Dodge, Rev. Marshall D. Sanders, and Rev. Dr. R. R. Booth, who led so many of the subsequent missionary prayer-meetings, — all made appropriate addresses.

The key-note of the dedicatory services, which ought

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to be placed beneath every picture of that "Haystack Monument," was sounded by Mark Hopkins. "Monuments," he said, "commemorate the past. This is well; but only as such commemoration strengthens the principles that underlie the event and movement commemorated. The stress and struggle of the missionary work are still upon us; the calls for help were never louder; and I can only hope that this memorial may serve to kindle and perpetuate on this ground the missionary spirit. I can only hope that as this shaft raises the mimic globe into the sunlight and poises it there, so the increasing and united efforts of Christians may lift a world, prostrate in sin, into the light of the Sun of Righteousness, and poise it in permanent obedience to the revealed will of God."

APPENDIX B  
THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK



## APPENDIX B

### THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK

#### SHORT SKETCHES OF THE FOUR OTHER MEN BESIDES MILLS WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE HAYSTACK MEETING

JAMES RICHARDS was born in Abington, Massachusetts, February 23, 1784. His early education was procured in Plainfield, whither his parents had moved in his boyhood. While he had a deep religious experience as a boy of thirteen, he did not express hope of his conversion until he was nineteen. Then he decided to enter the ministry, but was unable to enter college until he was twenty-two, for his father could not spare him from the farm.

At college he proved himself a splendid mathematician, but he was chiefly honored for his sterling Christian character. He graduated from Williams in the same class as Mills (1809). He graduated in 1812 from Andover Seminary, and in all their student life together was Mills' *fidus Achates*.

From 1812 to 1813 he studied medicine in Philadelphia and at Dartmouth. The American Board being unable to send him abroad on account of

## THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK

the war, he preached for a year in Deering, New Hampshire.

In May, 1815, he married Sarah Bardwell of Goshen, Massachusetts, and June 21 of the same year he was ordained at Newburyport with Warren, Mills, Meigs, Poor, and Bardwell, and embarked, October 23, for Ceylon. On leaving his native land he said, "I have been waiting with anxiety almost eight years for an opportunity to go and preach Christ among the heathen. I have often wept at the long delay. But the day on which I now bid farewell to my native land is the happiest day of my life."

Soon after his arrival in Ceylon, Richards was attacked with a severe inflammation of the eyes. This was soon followed by a serious pulmonary trouble. With Warren he went to South Africa for their health. Warren soon died, and Richards returned alone to Ceylon, and for a time lost his voice as the result of a severe hemorrhage. He did all that his feeble strength would allow, even to the last. He sank exhausted, August 13, 1822, at the age of thirty-six; "in health laborious, in sickness patient, in death triumphant."

Richards was slender in appearance, five feet eight inches in height, of a light complexion. He was a plain, pointed preacher, of earnest and devoted spirit rather than talented. He was physician to body and soul, and efficient in both capacities; but most of all as friend and counselor was he valued and esteemed.

HARVEY LOOMIS was born two years later than Mills, in the same place, — Tarringford. Undoubtedly Mills' father influenced him in deciding to go to college, and



## THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK

with young Mills and Orange Lyman, all from the same church, entered the class of 1809 at Williams. Loomis and Lyman were better scholars than Mills, and received commencement appointments. Loomis studied theology with Mills' father and Rev. Ebenezer Porter at Washington, Connecticut.

He had stood for home missions in preference to foreign missions at the haystack. His later conduct squared with this conviction, and he went, in 1811, to a difficult but strategic field in Bangor, Maine. He was ordained there, November 27, 1811, over a church of four members. Bangor at that time had no Sabbath, and a bad reputation for irreligion and wickedness. For some years he preached in a hall and in the court-house, no meeting-house being erected until 1821. Loomis identified himself with the growing town, and had much to do with shaping its thought and morals. In the fourteen years of his ministry he built up a church which was strong in numbers, and embraced in its membership nearly all the prominent and influential men of the place.

Harvey Loomis was a fine Christian gentleman of the Puritan type. In sharp contrast with Mills, he had a fine personal appearance and graceful bearing, a brilliant eye, and a voice both rich and powerful. Withal he was a man of great firmness and remarkable moral courage, coupled with uncommon tact. His wife, Anne Battell of Tarringford, was a true helpmeet to her husband.

His death was almost tragic. He entered the pulpit one cold winter Sunday in January, 1825, fell insensible, and was dead in half an hour. In his pocket

## THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK

was the sermon he intended to preach on the text, "This year shalt thou die."

FRANCIS LE BARRON ROBBINS was the son of Rev. A. R. Robbins of Norfolk, Connecticut. His father was appointed a trustee of the college, and influenced many of the young men from Litchfield County at this time to go to Williams instead of Yale. Among them were three of the five men at the haystack meeting, — Mills, Loomis, and Robbins. Robbins was younger than the others, graduating in the class of 1808 at the age of twenty-one. He studied theology at Worcester with Dr. Austin, and at Lee, Massachusetts, with Rev. Alvan Hyde. He was engaged in home missionary work in Vermont and New Hampshire, and became settled pastor at Enfield, Connecticut, in 1816. Soon after his settlement he married Miss Priscilla Alden, and as his second wife, in 1846, Hannah Cook of Danvers, Massachusetts. While not a brilliant preacher, Robbins always was a felicitous speaker in the various places where a minister is called to speak. He always was a peacemaker, and won the respect and love of both his brethren in the ministry and his parishioners. He was a gentleman of the old school, of invariable courtesy and charming dignity. Of all his qualities it might be well said, "The greatest of these is love."

BYRAM GREEN, who located the site of the haystack, was the only one who did not remain in the ministry. He became a Christian during the revival of 1805-6, and graduated in the class of 1808. After graduation he studied theology with Rev. Dr. Packard of Shelburne, Massachusetts. He was compelled to

## THE MEN OF THE HAYSTACK

abandon preaching after a short time on account of asthma.

In 1811 he located in Sodus, New York, when that part of the country was very sparsely settled. He entered into public life, and six years later was chosen to the State Legislature, where he served for three years. He afterwards held office as state senator, county judge, and collector. In 1843 he entered Congress as a Democrat, but voted against the annexation of Texas and against the extension of slavery.

He was liberal and active in promoting all worthy causes, and in business was known for his staunch integrity and sterling honesty.



## APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIOGRAPHIES — HISTORIES AND MEMORIALS — MAGAZINE ARTICLES — SERMONS AND REPORTS — MANUSCRIPTS



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